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THE
FUNDAMENTAL
UNITY OF INDIA

(*FROM HINDU SOURCES*)

BY
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WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY
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TO
THE PROMOTERS OF
THE HINDU UNIVERSITY OF BENARES
FOR THEIR NOBLE EFFORTS TOWARDS THE
CONSERVATION AND DEVELOPMENT
OF
HINDU LEARNING AND CULTURE
IN THE SERVICE OF HUMANITY.

“ चाहं सर्वेषां राज्ञां विजयं विजयं परमतं गच्छेय साक्षात्
भीज्यं स्वाराज्यं पारमेश्वर्यं राज्यं साक्षाराज्यं चाधिपत्यं चाहं
समनापद्मायीस्त्रा सार्वभौमः सार्वायुध आन्तादापराह्नात्
शृणिवै समुद्रपद्मानाथा एकरात्तिति । ”

—*Atareya Brähmaya*, [VIII. i. 39.]

[“It is my desire to attain to superiority, pre-eminence and overlordship among all kings, to acquire an all-embracing authority by achieving all forms and degrees of sovereignty, to achieve the conquest of both space and time and be the sole monarch of the earth up to the seas.”]

से च पुन लभेदेवाना पियस च सर्वेष च अतेषु अस्तु
पिच्छाजने सेचो सत्तर आने अनियोगे नाम योन पश्चान
च तेन अनियोजेना चतुर्लिङ्गाजने तु लभये वास
अगेकिन नाम सक वास अस्तिक्षेपद्वे नाम निर्वं चोद्द
पाण्डिया इनं तम्भपिनिधा चैवमेव ऐवमेव पादालाजा
विचम्भसि योन कवज्जेषु नावकनाभपत्तिषु भोज पिटिनि-
क्षेषु अन्भपलम्भेषु सर्वता देवाना पियस अस्मानुषस्थि
अनुवत्तनि ।—*Asoka Rock Edict xiii.*

[“And this is the chiefest conquest in the opinion of His Sacred Majesty—the Conquest of Dharma—and this conquest, again, has been won by His Sacred Majesty both in his own dominions and in all the neighbouring realms as far as six hundred leagues—where the Greek King Antiochos dwells, and north of that Antiochos to where dwell the four great kings severally named Ptolemy, Antigonos, Magas and Alexander; and in the south (the realms of the) Cholas, and Pandyas, with Ceylon likewise—and here, too, in the King's dominions, among the Yonas and Kāmbojas, among the Nābhāpāntis of Nābhaka, among the Bhojas and Pitinikas, among the Āndhras and Pulindas.”]

PREFACE

THIS brochure is based on an article which I contributed to the *Dawn and Dawn Society's Magazine* in January, 1909. In its present form it was delivered as an address to the Calcutta University Institute in March last under the presidency of Sir Gooroodass Banerji, Kt., M.A., D.L., Ph.D., Ex-Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University; and it was reproduced in the pages of *The Modern Review* for April. It is now published with several additions and alterations.

In this work I have not dwelt upon the important evidence of the fundamental unity of India furnished by the social and religious institutions of the country, but have confined my attention mainly to its geographical basis.

I am deeply indebted to Dr. Brajendranath Seal, M.A., Ph.D., King George V. Professor of Philosophy of the Calcutta University, for many valuable suggestions I received from him.

Mr. Nundolal Dey, M.A., B.L., the author of "A Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediæval India," has also laid me under great obligation by preparing for the book a Map of Ancient India. My thanks are also due to the Hon. Pandit Madanmohon Malaviya for kindly revising the proofs.

My grateful acknowledgments are due to the Hon. Maharaja Manindra Chandra Nandy of Cossimbazar for the generous support he has accorded to me in the preparation of this work.

RADHAKUMUD MOOKERJI.

BERHAMPORE (BENGAL),
August, 1918.

INTRODUCTION

MR. RADHAKUMUD MOOKERJI has honoured me by asking me to write an introduction to his interesting book. To those who follow the work of the band of Indian historical students who are struggling, with no great measure of encouragement, to found a school native to the soil and inspired by Indian tradition, Mr. Mookerji's books need no introduction, especially since he published his *History of Indian Shipping*. In this little book he attempts to lay the only foundation upon which an Indian Historical School can rest. If India is a mere geographical expression, a mere collection of separate peoples, traditions, and tongues existing side by side but with no sense of nationhood in common,

Indian history cannot be the record of an evolution of a civilization—it can be nothing more than an account of raids, conflicts, relations of conquerors and conquered. That this is the common view is only too true; that a superficial view of India lends all its weight to that view is only too apparent; that it is the view of many of the present governors is proclaimed without secrecy from Ceylon to Afghanistan.

Those who read this book will find that there is another view, and that the Hindu, at any rate, from his traditions and his religion, regards India not only as a political unit naturally the subject of one sovereignty—whatever holds that sovereignty, whether British, Mohammedan, or Hindu—but as the outward embodiment, as the temple—nay, even as the goddess mother—of his spiritual culture. India and Hinduism are organically related as body and soul. Nationality is at best a difficult thing to define, to test and

establish. The barren controversies on the subject to which the demands of Ireland for Home Rule have led, prove that. But the Aryan settled it decisively so far as India and himself are concerned. He made India the symbol of his culture ; he filled it with his soul. In his consciousness it was his greater self. How he did it Mr. Mookerji shows in his interesting chapters.

Mr. Mookerji writes only of history, but it is a history which we read with political thoughts in our mind. It is this history quickened into life which is giving us our Indian political problems. What share has the Mohammedan in it ? Perhaps much greater than we think. The *Pax Britannica* does not merely shelter weak men ; it is also a shade under which liberal political ideas take root and flourish. And nationalism cannot be dissociated from liberal political ideas. To amplify and discuss this would be out of place here, and Mr. Mookerji

would not wish me to use the privileges of an introduction to widen until it passes into current political controversy the historical field of his study. But these thoughts have been in my mind as they will no doubt be in that of everyone who reads this book, and I have been anxious to indicate that in my opinion, at any rate, the unity of India will not remain exclusively a Hindu conception, although its origin may be in Hindu culture.

Many people imagine that this Indian nationhood is only a disturbing element in politics. But that is a mistake. It is a reviving influence on culture. Indeed, in some respects, its political expressions are its crudest and most ill-formed embodiments. We have it best—if, as yet, in no very great volume—in art and literature. In art, as in education, we have been proclaiming, in our vanity, that India had to learn the Western tone and touch, with the result that Indian art

has been debased and every spontaneous thought crushed out of it. But life returned through the nationalist revival. Nothing has ever struck me with more force than the contrast between the ugly daubs which compose an art exhibition in India held under Western auspices and the product of Western "inspiration" on the one hand, and the beautiful harmonies of form and colour which the Indian Art Society brings together on the other. And it is interesting to note how in this art the spirit of India is not merely Hindu. Mr. Tagore's great painting "The Death of Shah Jehan," is as essentially Persian as his "Spirit of India" is Hindu. Moreover, in literature, are we not at present in the midst of a "Gitanjali" puja—all unconscious that it is the refined expression of Indian nationalism? Finally, there are the students of intellectual culture with whom Mr. Mookerji himself co-operates, gathering together the scattered records

of Indian achievement so that they may be known and due homage paid to the people who accomplished them. Thus India awakes anew to a sense of independence and self-respect, and only by such an awakening can she contribute her share to the culture of the world.

J. RAMSAY MACDONALD.

THE ARGUMENT

I. The primary factor of Nationality is the possession of a common country—a common fatherland is preliminary to all national development—the formation of an Indian nation must wait on the realisation by the Indians of the whole of India as their common mother country, claiming their loyalty and service.

*II. But is India a single country?
Difference of opinion among European and Anglo-Indian scholars.*

III. The geographical unity of India is easily missed in her immensity and variety—an account of India's vastness and variety—the variety only contributes to her wealth and strength and economic self-sufficiency.

IV. *To superficial observation the whole is lost in the parts—the fundamental unity of India is, however, acknowledged by many competent authorities.*

V. *But this unity is generally traced to the influence of British rule in India—it has really a long history, and has been an element in the historic consciousness of the Hindus from a remote age—the oldest expression of this unity was the name Bhāratavarṣa, which the ancient Hindus applied to India—the full significance of the name indicating the Aryanisation of India.*

VI.-VII. *Further expressions of the old Hindu consciousness of Indian geographical unity in the Vedic and subsequent literature—the river-hymn of the 'Rig-Veda' and its epic adaptation with expanding geographical horizon—other later hymns which have passed into national daily prayers—their effects on popular consciousness in awakening it to a sense of the individuality and sacredness of the whole of India from end to end.*

VIII. *The feeling for the fatherland finds frequent expression in Sanskrit literature.*

IX. *A permanent and characteristically Indian expression of this feeling is in the network of shrines and sacred places by which the country has been covered—the institution of pilgrimage as an expression of love for the motherland, of appreciation of Art and Nature—pilgrimage as a means of acquiring an intimate knowledge of the country in olden times before the era of modern travelling facilities—the lists of Hindu holy places in Sanskrit literature show complete familiarity with every part of India.*

X. *Corresponding to the Hindu expression of love for the motherland is the Buddhist expression of the feeling in the multitude of monuments with which it beautified the whole country—enumeration of these monuments showing the vast area unified by a common impulse.*

XI. *The geographical knowledge of the whole of India and, consequently, the perception of its unity was itself the development of centuries.*

XII. *History of the development of this knowledge—the geographical horizon in the Vedic age—the extension of the limits of Vedic India in the 'Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.'*

XIII. *Probable period of the colonisation of Southern India—evidences from Panini and oldest Pali texts—the geographical horizon between the Vedic and early Buddhist periods.*

XIV. *The whole of India was known at least as early as the fourth century B.C.—the evidence of Kātyāyana—Greek evidence—the geographical data in the 'Arthaśāstra' of Kautilya—the geography of the Asoka Edicts.*

XV. *The geography of Patañjali (150 B.C.)—of the Rāmāyana—and of the Mahābhārata.*

XVI. *The geography of the Purāṇas—of the Brīhatsaṅhitā of Varāhamihira, showing an intimate knowledge of all parts of India.*

XVII. *The geography of Kālidāsa—end of the account of the development of Indian geographical knowledge.*

XVIII. *The sense of the unity of the whole country was promoted, not only by religion as shown above, but also by politics—rulers of India who established their sway over the whole country, and consequently contemplated and used it as a unit—the oldest of them is generally thought to be Chandragupta.*

XIX. *But the institution of paramount sovereignty was much older than Chandragupta—it was a familiar political idea of the ancient Hindus—evidence on the subject—the terms for a paramount sovereign in Vedic literature.*

XX. *The ‘Aitareya Brāhmaṇa’ and ‘Śukranīti’ on the grades of kingly power—the Vedic terms for overlordship.*

XXI. *Further Vedic evidence — the ceremonies specifically fixed for the coronations of emperors—significance of the details and procedure of the Vājapeya.*

XXII. *Significance of the details of the Rājasūya.*

XXIII. *Significance of the imperial inaugurations as described in the 'Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.'*

XXIV. *The ideal of Hindu kingship was nothing short of universal sovereignty, which meant at the least sovereignty of the whole of India "up to the seas"—the consciousness of the territorial synthesis leads to the political synthesis, and is itself strengthened by the latter.*

XXV. *Ideals of an all-India overlordship are, however, preserved in Sanskrit literature, along with their concrete embodiments—lists of such paramount kings—in the 'Aitareya Brāhmaṇa'—in the 'Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa'—in the 'Śāṅkhāyana Sutra.'*

XXVI. *The lists of such kings in the Purāṇas—in the Mahābhārata—the Arthaśāstra on the conception of an all-India overlord.*

XXVII. *The conquests of the Pāṇḍavas leading to the establishment of their paramount sovereignty under Yudhiṣṭhīra—the resulting political unification of India*

XXVIII. *Popularisation of the idea of an all-India sovereignty through the story of Yudhiṣṭhīra—the current Hindu political notion of a Chakravarṭī Rāja has shaped early Buddhist speculation about the true position and work of the Buddha—the Buddha was the spiritual sovereign who ruled supreme over the empire of righteousness in the hearts of men.*

XXIX. *Thus the sovereignty of Chandragupta Maurya was only a further stage in the development of an old institution—the idea became a common topic of discussion in the works on Hindu Polity—treatment of the*

*problem, "How can a king become a king of kings?" in our *Niti-Sūstras*—the conception of the balance of power in a political system or sphere described therein.*

XXX. *The evidence of Inscriptions as to the strength and popularity of the ideal of a paramount sovereignty governing the whole of India.*

XXXI. *Another conclusive evidence bearing on the popular realisation of Indian unity is the Indian colonisations resulting in the development of a Greater India across the seas.*

XXXII. *Besides the historical factor, there are physical factors in constant operation which establish the geographical unity of India—comparison of the barriers which separate its internal parts from those that separate it from the surrounding external countries—the effects of the monsoons in creating uniform physical conditions.*

XXXIII. *The destiny and message of India.*

THE FUNDAMENTAL UNITY OF INDIA

(from Hindu Sources)

I

THERE are various elements necessary in the making of a nation such as a common language, a common religion, a common government and a common culture and social economy, but perhaps the most fundamental and indispensable factor is the possession of a common country, a fixed, definite abode. Even nationality has a material physical basis without which it can hardly manifest and assert itself as a real existence and factor in the political world. History shows no authentic record of nomadic peoples

B

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developing to any great extent in civilisation until and unless they bound themselves to a fixed habitation and rid themselves of their migratory instincts and habits. The Hebrew people, in spite of the political training they received from Moses, could not achieve much progress until Joshua settled them in Palestine. So also what the historians call the Dark Age of Europe is but the period of unrest and transition when the barbarians left their old homes, overran and disorganised the Roman Empire, but were themselves without any fixed local habitation. "The Athenians under Themistocles saved the State of Athens on their ships, because after the victory they again took possession of their city; but the Teutones and Cimbri perished, because they left their old homes and failed to conquer a new one."

The spirit, according to Hindu philosophy, clothes itself in the body in and through which it works; it needs a

vehicle, an instrument, a physical framework whereby it expresses and outshapes itself in the external world of matter. And it seems that the same principle applies in respect of the spirit of nationality. The primary requisite for the birth and growth of a nation is the certainty, fixity and permanence of *place*, and when that is assured the other formative forces will appear and make themselves felt in due course. A common fatherland is preliminary to all national development: round that living nucleus will naturally gather all those feelings, associations, traditions, and other elements which go to make up a people's language and literature, religion and culture, and thereby establish its separate existence and individuality, demanding its preservation and independent development as a valuable cultural unit. The unifying influence of a common country, of common natural surroundings is indeed irresistible, and the assertion may be safely made that it will

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be effectively operative against other disintegrating, disruptive forces and tendencies such as differences in manners and customs, language and religion.

The formation of a composite, federal Indian nation is one of the most interesting of modern political possibilities because of the great and unusual difficulties surrounding that movement. But the very first step towards the solution of those difficulties is clearly the cognisance of the fundamental fact that the diverse races and peoples making up the vast mass of Indian humanity cannot be welded together into a living nation, a puissant political force, unless in the first place they can understand and feel that they have a common country to love and to serve, that they all belong to one motherland, that they are all children of the same soil. Without this expanded geographical consciousness in the people the cherished dreams of the impatient political idealist about an Indian nation

in the making will ever be remote from realisation.

II

But unfortunately it has become by no means easy to think of India as a single country. No picture of India is now more familiar to the Indian mind than that which represents it to be a continent, or a collection of *many* countries rather than *one* country. For this is the picture that is drawn in most of the standard works on Indian Geography taught in our schools. An English author of a geography for Indian schools introduces his book with the following remarks: "India is commonly thought of and spoken of as a single country. But this is not true India is rather a collection of countries." According to Sir John Strachey, the great Anglo-Indian authority, "this is the first and most essential thing to learn about India—that

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there is not and never was an India or even any country of India, possessing, according to European ideas, any sort of unity, physical, political" But Anglo-Indian opinion itself is however by no means unanimous on this point. Mr. Vincent A. Smith, the well-known authority on early Indian History, has delivered himself in a quite different strain: "India, encircled as she is by seas and mountains, is indisputably a geographical unit, and as such is rightly designated by one name." Equally positive and emphatic are the following words of Chisholm, one of the best known authorities on Geography: "There is no part of the world better marked out by Nature as a region by itself than India, exclusive of Burma. It is a region indeed full of contrasts in physical features and in climate, — but the features that divide it as a whole from surrounding regions are too clear to be overlooked."

III

The fact is that the geographical unity of India is apt to be lost sight of in her immensity and variety. It is difficult to imagine the vast territory that stretches from North to South over a distance exceeding 2,000 miles and from East to West over a distance of more than 1,900 miles as one continuous territory. The total area included within its limits is about two-thirds of that of the continent of Europe. It is nearly fourteen times as large as Great Britain and over ten times the size of the entire British Isles. It is more than six times the area of either France or Germany. This immensity of her geographical extension has naturally induced those physical conditions which have made of India pre-eminently the land of varieties, 'the

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epitome of the world.' It is the land, primarily, of as many latitudes as altitudes. The temperature ranges from the singularly dry and bracing cold of the Himalayas culminating in eternal snows to the humid, tropical heat of the Konkan and Coromandel coast. The surface rises from the sea-level to heights above the limits of vegetation, above cloud and rain and storm, merged in eternal sunshine. Its climates vary, on the one hand, from torrid and tropical to arctic and polar including between the extremes various shades of the mean or temperate, and, on the other, from almost absolute aridity to a maximum of humidity. The rainfall ranges from 460 inches at Cherrapoonjee to less than even 3 inches in Upper Sind. This amazing variety of latitudes and altitudes, temperature and moisture, produces a corresponding variety in flora and fauna. The range of climatic zones determines that of Botanical as well as Zoological

zones. Thus, according to Sir J. D. Hooker,¹ the flora of India is more varied than that of any other country of equal area in the eastern hemisphere, if not in the globe. As regards the richness of the Indian fauna, the following testimony of Mr. Blandford² is sufficient: "Animal life is not only abundant in British India, but it is remarkably varied. The number of kinds of animals inhabiting India and its dependencies is very large, far surpassing, for instance, that of the species found in the whole of Europe, although the superficial area of Europe exceeds that of the Indian Empire by about one-half." This extraordinary richness and variety of the flora and fauna of India necessarily imply a corresponding richness and variety in her vegetable and animal products, endowing her with a degree of economic self-sufficiency which falls to

¹ *Imperial Gazetteer*, new ed., Vol. I., p. 157.

² *Ibid.*, p. 218.

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the lot of but few countries in the world. As Mr. Lilly puts it, the products of India 'include everything needed for the service of man.' But / scarcely less than this physical variety is the *human* variety which India presents with her teeming millions. They absorb so much as a fifth of the whole human race, including races and peoples belonging to all stages and states of social evolution and civilisation with languages, manners and customs, cults and cultures of the most diverse kinds. There are in India no less than seven main physical types of races introducing varieties of physical form in the population; no less than fourteen separate peoples or nationalities with their own languages and literature; no less than 150 different tongues producing a veritable Babel of languages¹; and, finally, nearly

¹ According to Dr. Cust, "no less than 530 languages and dialects, cultivated and uncultivated, in the whole of India and its bordering regions."

all the world-religions, each claiming more than a million of worshippers. India is verily a museum of cults and customs, creeds and cultures, faiths and tongues, racial types and social systems.

IV

Superficial observers are therefore liable to be bewildered by this astonishing variety in Indian life and geography. They lack that power of perception which dives beneath appearances and externals and sees into the life of things. They thus fail to discover the One in the Many, the Individual in the Aggregate, the Simple in the Composite. With them, the whole is lost in the parts, nay, the parts are greater than the whole, as in the old adage of blind men 'seeing' the

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elephant. The fact is that an exclusive dependence upon mere sense-impressions, mere sense-contact with external phenomena, cannot carry us very far: for the senses cannot take us beyond the apparent and the objective. What is needed is the superior interpreting, integrating, synthetising power of the mind that instead of being over-powered by the multitude of details will master them and rise above them to a vision of the whole. ✓

A keen, penetrating insight can hardly fail to recognise that beneath all this manifold variety there is a fundamental unity; that this diversity itself, far from being a source of weakness, is a fertile source of strength and wealth. As Sir Herbert Risley has truly observed: "Beneath the manifold diversity of physical and social type, language, custom and religion which strikes the observer in India there can still be discerned, as Mr. Yusuf Ali has pointed out, a certain

underlying uniformity¹ of life from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin." The last Indian Census Commissioner, Mr. E. A. Gait, I.C.S., has also recorded the same conclusion: "The people of India as a whole can be distinguished from those of Europe by certain broad characteristics." While, according to Mr. Vincent A. Smith, speaking from his long and first-hand experience of India, the civilisation of India "has many features which differentiate it from that of all other regions of the world; while they are

¹ One aspect of this unity has been thus explained by Monier Williams (*Hinduism*, page 18): "India, though it has, as we have seen, more than 500 spoken dialects, has only one sacred language and only one sacred literature, accepted and revered by all adherents of Hinduism alike, however diverse in race, dialect, rank, and creed. That language is Sanskrit, and that literature is Sanskrit literature—the only repository of the Veda or 'knowledge' in its widest sense; the only vehicle of Hindu theology, philosophy, law and mythology; the only mirror in which all the creeds, opinions, customs, and usages of the Hindus are faithfully reflected; and (if we may be allowed a fourth metaphor) the only quarry whence the requisite materials may be obtained for improving the vernaculars or for expressing important religious and scientific ideas."

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common to the whole country or rather continent in a degree sufficient to justify its treatment as a unit in the history of human social and intellectual development."

V

It is generally recognised and admitted on all hands that this Indian unity is largely, if not solely, the creation of the British rule, a by-product of the *Pax Britannica*, the inevitable outcome of a centralised administration which controls the whole country from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin. What is not generally known and recognised, however, is that the idea of this fundamental unity is much older than British rule, that it is not a recent growth or discovery but has a history running back to a remote antiquity. There are many proofs to show that the great founders

of Indian religion, culture and civilisation were themselves fully conscious of the geographical unity of their vast mother country and sought in various ways to impress it on the popular consciousness.

The first expression they appear to have given to this sense of unity was their description of the entire country by the single name of *Bhāratavarṣa*,¹ which is the old indigenous classic name by which India was known to the Hindus. For the name India was given to the country by foreigners. The river Sindhu by which the country was first known to

¹ India was originally called *Jambudvīpa*. This name was in use even in the time of Asoka who, in Buddhist works, is often styled as the king of *Jambudvīpa*. Some of the Pāla kings also style themselves as Kings of *Jambudvīpa* in their inscriptions. While the name *Jambudvīpa* has a geographical reference, the name *Bhāratavarṣa* has a political reference conveying the idea that the whole of India was governed by a single king (see the *Purāṇas* for the etymological significance of the word). Though *Jambudvīpa* and *Bhāratavarṣa* were no doubt names applied to the region conquered or colonised by the Aryans, yet subsequent additions by conquest were also known by those general names, as accretions to the main land are known by the name of the latter.

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outsiders was changed into Hindu by the Persians, and Indos by the Greeks, dropping the hard aspirate. The name Bhāratavarṣa is not a mere geographical expression like the term India, having only a physical reference. It has a deep, historical significance symbolising a fundamental unity which was certainly perceived and understood by those who invented the name. It is a well-known doctrine of logic that when a common name is applied to different things, it is because of some principle of unity which connects them to a system in spite of the differences. It was hence a consciousness of unity that really made the Rishis of old to apply a single, individualising, appellation to a vast stretch of territory with parts divided by endless varieties and peopled by many races speaking many dialects, professing many faiths, owning many cultures. Bhāratavarṣa is derived from Bharata as Rome is derived from Romulus. Bharata is a great hero

of Indian history and tradition, just as Romulus is of Roman. The *Rig-Veda*¹ first mentions him as the leader of a powerful Aryan tribe that played its full part in the original struggles and conflicts by which Aryan polity and culture were being shaped into proper form in the dawn of Indian history. The *Āitarēya Brāhmaṇa*² refers to his coronation ceremony and subsequent career of conquests leading to his overlordship which is duly solemnised by the performance of the usual Aswamedha sacrifice. This story is also followed up by the *Śrīmad-Bhāgavata*, which applies to him the epithets *Adhirāṭ* and *Samrāṭ*, *i.e.*, king of kings, and describes his subjugation of a number of races, tribes and kingdoms such as the *Kirātas*, the *Hūṇas*, the *Yavanas*, the

¹ III. 83.

² Panjikā VIII.: “ एतेन ऋबा ऐन्द्रेन सहायिकेन दीर्घतमा सामर्त्ये: दीयनिः भरतं अभियेत्व । तत्पात् उ दीयनिः भरतः समन्तं सर्वतः प्रथिर्वी जयन् परीयायाच्चेष्ट्वेष्टीजे इत्यादि । ”

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Paundras and the like, and his ultimate renunciation of the world as an unreality in essence. Bharata, therefore, stood before the multitudinous peoples inhabiting the country that was called after him as the embodiment, the representative, of the dominant Aryan power which was fast accomplishing its work of colonising the whole country and bringing its different parts under the unifying discipline of a common culture and civilisation. *Bhāratavarsa* is therefore another name for Aryaniised India, the congenial fertile soil where Aryan culture planted itself and attained its fruition, the chosen abode which the pioneers of human civilisation adopted as the scene of their labours for the proper expression of their particular genius. And Bharata was held up as a convenient symbol, a comprehensible token of this early renaissance, of the conquest of a new thought and a new faith finding expression through their appropriate literature, disciplines and

institutions, social, economic and political, of the accomplishment of a new cultural unity imposed upon and pervading a rich, manifold variety, round which were gathered, as in a system of federation, different creeds, cults and cultures with liberty to each to preserve its own special features and genius and contribute its own quota to enrich the central culture.¹

¹ As pointed out by Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar, M.A., in his suggestive brochure on the *Pedagogy of the Hindus*, this synthetic and complex Indian culture was the result of the Indian system of education which adapted itself to national requirements in all ages, and he argues: "How otherwise can we account for the rise of the numerous Puranas, Sanhitas, and Tantras adapted to the needs of the people in different ages and provinces? . . . It was because of their mastery over the principles of Psychology and Sociology that the leaders of the community never neglected the superstitions, the mechanical rites and ceremonies, the diverse practices and usages and various religious customs and mythological notions obtaining in the country, but rather promoted the growth and development of a varied eschatology, a varied mythology and a varied religious system according to the varied geographical and historical condition of the people."

The idea of § V. is very well developed in Mr. B. C. Pal's *The Soul of India*.

VI

But besides this proof of a common name, there are other proofs to show that the fact of this fundamental unity of India was fully grasped by the popular mind in ancient times. Even such an old book as the *Rig-Veda*, one of the oldest literary records of humanity, reveals conscious and fervent attempts made by the Risis, those profoundly wise organisers of Hindu polity and culture, to visualise the unity of their mother country, nay, to transfigure the mother earth into a living deity and enshrine her in the loving heart of the worshipper. This is best illustrated by the famous river-hymn¹ of the *Rig-Veda* where the various rivers of the Punjab, the perennial streams of plenty and good to which the country owes so much, which were at once the highways of commerce and culture alike, are deified by a grateful imagination and receive the

¹ *Rv. X. 75.*

nation's worship and homage. As the mind of the devotee contemplates in love and reverence those formative, beneficent agencies of nature contributing from time eternal to the making of his country, it naturally traverses the entire area of his native land and grasps an image of the whole as a visible unit and form. Certainly a better and simpler, a more convenient and significant formula could not be invented for the perception of the fatherland as one indivisible unit than the following prayer of the sloka in the aforesaid hymn :—

१८८८ ये गंगे अमुने सरस्वति
 अमुनिं खोमं सच्चता परम्या ।
 असिक्षा सच्चदृष्टे वितस्तायाजीकीये
 इष्टपूजा सूर्योम्या ॥¹

[O ye Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Sarasvatī, Śatadru, and Paruṣṇī, receive ye my prayers! O ye Marudbṛidhū, joined by the Asiknī, Vitastā, and Ārjikiyā joined by the Susomā, hear ye my prayers!]

¹ *Sutudri* = the Sutlej; *Paruṣṇī* = the Ravi; *Asiknī* = the Chenab; *Marudbṛidhā* = the combined course of the Alkesines and Hydaspes (Roth); *Vitastā* = Gr. Hydaspes = Jheolum; *Ārjikiyā* = the Vipas (according to Yāska) = the Bias; *Susomā* = the Indus (Yāska). See Map.

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It calls up at once in the mind's eye a picture of the whole of Vedic India, and fulfils in a remarkable way the poet's purpose behind it of awakening the people's consciousness to the fundamental unity of their country. Nay, it does more: it elevates and refines patriotism itself into religion. To think of the mother country, to adore her as the visible giver of all good, becomes a religious duty; the fatherland is allotted its rightful place in the nation's daily prayers. The river-hymn¹ of the *Rig-Veda* therefore presents the first national conception of Indian unity, such as it was. It was necessarily conditioned by the geographical horizon

¹ The epithet *Sapta-sindhu*, the land of seven rivers, is applied to the whole of Vedic India in Rig. VIII., 24, 27, and is thus another expression of its geographical unity.

The *Epic* counterpart of the Vedic description of the Punjab is the following couplet of the *Mahābhārata*, Karna-parva, chapter 44:—

मत्तदुष्व विपाशा च लतीयेरावती तथा ।

चन्द्रभाशा वितस्ता च चिन्धः पष्ठा चहिर्विद्देः ॥

attained in that age which seems to have been confined by the snowy mountains in the north, the Indus and the range of Suleiman mountains in the west, the Indus or the sea in the south, and the valley of the Jumna and the Ganges in the east. These limits practically include the whole of Northern India, the geographical unity of which was also recognised and suitably expressed in the designation of the entire territory by the common name of *Aryāvarta* in Vedic literature. Manu defines *Aryāvarta* as follows :—

आर्यावर्ता वै पूर्वादाचसुद्रान् पश्चिमात् ।
तथोरेवान्नर्त गिर्योरार्यावर्तं विदुर्वृद्धः ॥—II. 21.

Medhātithi has the following commentary on the above : “ पर्वतश्चिंतयद्विन्द्रियोर्ध-
दन्तरं सर्वं सः आर्यावर्तो देष्टो वुधेः शिष्टैरुच्यते । ”

This explanation is quite in accord with that given by *Amarakosa*, viz. :—

“ आर्यावर्तः पुष्टमूर्तिः सर्वं विन्द्रियचिमालयोः । ”

So that *Aryāvarta* corresponds to the

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territory between the Himalayas and the
Vindhya.¹

VII

With the gradual extension of Aryan colonisation of India beyond the limits of the old Aryāvarta so as to embrace the whole of Dakshināpatha or Southern India, the old Vedic formula for the conception of Indian unity was supplemented by other appropriate formulae to give fitting expression to an expanding geographical consciousness. Thus the following Pauranic prayer is but an adaptation of the aforesaid river-hymn of the *Rig-Veda* to a new environment, to an expanded geographical horizon which embraced the whole of India within its limits :—

¹ The *Vasiṣṭha Dharmasūtra* [i. 9], in accord with *Mānava Dharmasūtra*, also defines Aryāvarta as the region between the Vindhya and the Himalaya, and these two ranges also seem to be the boundaries of the Aryan world in the *Kaṇṭītaki Upaniṣad* [ii. 19]. The *Bāla-rādmīyāya* of the poet Rajasekhara speaks of the river Narinīdī as "the dividing line of Aryāvarta and Dakshināpatha."

गंगे च यमुने चैव गोदावरि सरस्वति ।
सिंधु च चावरि जलेभिन्नं सर्विधिं कुरु ॥¹

[O ye Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Godavari, Sarasvati, Narmadā, Sindhu and Cauvery, come ye and enter into this water of my offering !]

This holy text for the sacrificial purification of water is daily repeated by millions of devout Hindus all over the continent during their baths and worships and cannot fail to lift them for the time being above the narrow cares, anxieties, and interests of domestic life to a higher, wider plane of thought, on which they feel something of the great "touch of nature which makes the whole world kin" and realise the vital, fundamental unity or kinship which binds them to a common fatherland, as members of the same nation-family. The same ennobling, elevating effect is produced on the national consciousness by the following popular

¹ We may compare in this connexion the mention of the *Sapta-Gaṅgā* or the seven Gaṅgās in *Śiva-purāṇa* [II. xiii.], viz., Gaṅgā, Godāvari, Kāveri, Tāmraparnī, Sindhu, Sarayu and Revī.

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Pauranic couplet,¹ in which the whole of India is represented as the land of seven mountains, those chosen seats of contemplation and peace :—

सहेन्द्रो भृत्यः सह्यः पूर्विकमानुच्चपर्वतः ।

विन्ध्यस्य पारिशाच्च सप्तते कुलपर्वताः ॥²

Equally efficacious is the following text in enfranchising the mind from the limitations of a narrow, provincial, parochial outlook and opening it to a vision of the whole country of which all parts are equally sacred and entitled to homage :—

अधीधा गच्छुरा माया काण्डी काञ्ची अवन्निका ।

मुरी द्वारावती चैव सप्तिता भोवदायिका ॥³

¹ It also occurs in the *Mahābhārata*, *Bhīṣmaparva*, ch. 9.

² *Mahendra* = the Mahendra Mali hills in Ganjam and the Eastern Ghats where Parāśurāma retired after his defeat by Rāma; *Malaya* = the southern part of the Western Ghats; *Sahya* = the northern part of the Western Ghats; *Bikṣa* = the eastern part of the Vindhya, the mountains of Gondwana; *Pāripātra* or *Pāriyātra* = the western part of the Vindhya, including the Aravallis. See Map.

³ The seven sacred places named are: Ayodhyā, Mathurā, Mītyā or Hardwar, Kāśī or Benares, Kāñchī or Conjeeveram, Avanti or Ujjani, and Dvārāvatī or Dwarka in Guzerat.

Here India is represented as the land of seven principal sacred places which it is incumbent on every devotee to visit, and which cover between them practically the entire area of the country. It is also to be noted that the four most meritorious pilgrimages in India were placed by Saṅkarāchārya in the four extreme points of the country, so that the entire country may be known by the people and the whole area held sacred.¹ Saṅkarāchārya also established four *mathas* or monasteries in the four corners of India, viz., Jyotir-maṭh in the north, Sāradā-maṭh in the west, Sringeri-maṭh in the south, and Govardhana-maṭh in the east. These were, as it were, the pillars of Sankara's religious victory (दिव्विजय), the capitals of his spiritual empire exercising its sway over the whole of India. The four traditional *tirthas* are similarly Svetagangā

¹ These sacred places are Badari-Kedarnath in the north, Rāmesvara in the south, Dvārakā in the west and Jagannath in the east.

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in the east, Dhanuṣtīrtha in the south, Gomatikunda in the west and Tapta-kunda in the north. There are similarly four traditional tanks (चरोबर), viz., Pampā, Vindu, Nārāyana and Mānasa in the south, east, west and north respectively. There are, lastly, four popularly known *Kṣetras*, e.g., Mukti, Varāha, Harihara and Kuru. There are again recognised *three* principal temples for the worship of the sun in the east, north and west, viz., Konaraka (in Orissa), Multan [*Brahmapurāṇa*, I. 140, etc.], and Suryapura or Surat [*J.A.S.B.*, I. 387]. There are also similarly distinguished *eight* Vināyaka (Ganeśa) tirthas, viz., Moresvara, Ballāla, Lenādri, Siddhatek, Ojhar, Sthicvara or Meura, Rāñjanagrāma and Mahaḍa.

The following passage, dear to every devout Hindu, enumerates the various places of Śaiva worship scattered throughout the whole of India :—

सोराष्ट्रे सोमग्राथस्त्रे शीर्णेष्वे भृगिकाच्छुनं ।
उज्ज्विन्द्यां भद्राकालं ओकारमसरेत्तरे ॥

केदारं चिसवत्स्थेऽ डाकिन्यां भीसश्वरम् ।
 वाराणस्याच विचेष्टं त्वयम्बकं गीतवोत्तरे ॥
 वेद्यानाथं चित्ताभूसौ नामेऽस्त्रं द्वारकावने ।
 सेतुवने च रामेऽस्त्रं घुणेऽस्त्रं शिवालये ॥
 एतानि चौतिर्तीर्थानि साथं प्रातः पठेन्नरः ।
 सप्तजन्मदातं पापं चारणेन विनश्यति ॥¹

A similar passage enumerates the principal sacred places consecrated to Visnu which are daily repeated by millions of Hindus all over India.²

¹ The places may be thus identified: *Saurashtra* = Gujarat; *Sri-laila* = the Palni hills in Madura; *Ujjain*; *Amaresvara* near Maṇḍalesvara and ancient Māhismati; the Himalayas (*Kedāranath*); *Dākinī* (unknown); *Benares*; *Gumti* or Godavari; *Uchitabhūmi* = Baidyanath; *Setubandha* or Rāmesvara; *Śivālaya* (unknown).

² भाराताथां यद्याय्ये नैमित्ते च्छ्रिमवयम् ।
 पालभासं च्छ्रित्वे च अथोध्यार्था रघुचसम् ॥४॥
 भथुराथां बालकायां मायार्था मधुसूदनम् ।
 काश्चार्तु भीमश्वयनभवन्यामवनीपतिस् ॥५॥
 द्वारवत्यां यादवेन्द्रं व्रजे भीषीजनप्रियम् ।
 दृष्ट्यावने नन्दस्त्रनुं गोविन्दं कालियङ्गदे ॥६॥
 गोवर्धने गोपवेषं भवद्वं भक्तवत्यालम् ।
 रोमन्यपर्वते शौरिं चरिङ्गारे जगत्यतिस् ॥७॥
 प्रथागे साधवं चेव गयार्थांतु गदाधरम् ।

And in the story of Sati, the perfect wife, who can miss the significance of the fifty-two places in which fragments of the smitten body fell? "And one finger fell in Calcutta, and that is still the Kālighāt. And the tongue fell at Kangra (Jwālā-mukhi) in the North Panjab and appears

गङ्गासागरमे चिष्ठुं चिन्हकृदेतु राघवम् ॥ ८ ॥
 नन्दिधामे राजसम्म प्रभामे विश्वरूपिणम् ।
 शीरूमे कूर्मसचलं नीलाद्री पुरयोजनम् ॥ ९ ॥
 चिंचाचले भद्रासिंहं भद्रिनं तुलसीवने ।
 चृतशैले पापचरं चेताद्री चिंचरूपिणम् ॥ १० ॥
 चोगानन्दं धर्मपुरी काकुलोवाम्बनायकम् ।
 असीवले गाहडाद्री चिरण्यासुरमर्दनम् ॥ ११ ॥
 विहुलं पांडुरंगेतु वेङ्गठाद्री रसासवम् ।
 नारायणं यादवाद्री नृसिंहं घटिकाचक्षे ॥ १२ ॥
 वरदं वारणगिरी काजवां कसलालीचनम् ।
 अथोक्तकारिणं चैव परमेश्वरायथम् ॥ १३ ॥
 पाण्डवानां तथा दूतं चिचिक्रमसमयोद्यतम् ।
 कामाचिक्षां नृसिंहं च तथाएष्मुजसंज्ञकम् ॥ १४ ॥
 सेषाकारं शुभाकारं शेषाकारं तु श्रीगम्भम् ।
 अन्नरा शितिकष्ठस्य कामकोव्यां शुभप्रदम् ॥ १५ ॥
 कालसेषं खगाहृष्टं कोटिखूर्यसप्रभम् ।

to this day, as licking tongues of fire, from underneath the ground. And the left hand fell at Benares which is for ever Annapūrnā, the Giver-of-Bread."¹ All the above passages, with their remarkable hold

¹ The *Devī-gītā* (eighth chapter) enumerates the various places throughout India sacred to the *Devī* or Durgā.

दिव्यं दीपप्रकाशं च देवानां सचिपं सुन्ते ॥ १६ ॥
 प्रवाहावर्णं दीपाभं काकाशामष्टादशस्त्रितम् ।
 श्रीगढप्रसरस्त्रिरे भान्ते विजयराधवम् ॥ १७ ॥
 श्रीकाशारणे सच्चापुण्ये श्रावने वीरराधवम् ।
 तीताद्वौ तु गङ्गाश्चनं गजार्तिंश्च गजास्त्रिंश्च ॥ १८ ॥
 सहाविंश्चिपुरे भक्तिसारे जगत्प्रसिद्धम् ।
 सच्चावराधं श्रीमुण्ये सहीन्द्रे पञ्चसोचनम् ॥ १९ ॥
 श्रीरङ्गेतु जगद्वार्थं श्रीधामेश्वानकीप्रियम् ।
 सारचंद्रे सारनार्थं खण्डने चरच्चापहम् ॥ २० ॥
 श्रीनिवासस्त्रिंश्च पूर्णं सुवर्णसुर्णसन्दिरे ।
 श्वासपुर्णी भवत्विष्टु भक्तिस्थानेतु भक्तिदम् ॥ २१ ॥
 चेतन्द्रदे शालामूर्तिं श्रियुर्धीं सुरप्रियम् ।
 भर्गोलाणं भर्गवस्त्राने वैकुण्ठाख्येतु साधवम् ॥ २२ ॥
 पुरुषोन्मे भक्तस्त्रं चक्रतोर्च्च सुदर्शनम् ।
 कुम्भकोणे चक्रपाणिं भूतस्थाने तु शार्ङ्गिणम् ॥ २३ ॥
 कपिस्त्राले गजार्तिंश्च गोविन्दं चिचकूडके ।

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on the heart of the people as texts of their daily prayers, give expression to a feeling for the fatherland, an absorbing passion for place which is hardly surpassed anywhere in the world, while a negative proof of the same emotion shows itself in the fact that all the holy and sacred places of the Indian lie within the limits

अनुत्तमं चीत्तमायां ज्ञेत्रादी पद्मस्तीचनेम् ॥ १४ ॥
 पार्थस्त्राले परत्रज्ञा क्षत्यकोर्ज्ञा मधुद्विपम् ।
 नन्दपुरीं मत्तामन्दं दृद्धपुरीं दृष्टात्रयम् ॥ १५ ॥
 असङ्गं सज्जमध्यामे शरणे शरणं महात् ।
 दक्षिणद्वारकायांतु गोपालं जगतां परित्वा ॥ १६ ॥
 सिंहचेते मत्तासिंहं मत्तारिं मणिसप्तपे ।
 निविडे निविडाकारं धानुष्यो जगदीश्वरम् ॥ १७ ॥
 गोकरे कालमेघंतु सधुरायांतु चुन्दरम् ।
 दृष्टमादी मत्तापुरीं परमस्त्रामिसंज्ञकम् ॥ १८ ॥
 चीमहरगुणे नाथं कुरुकायारमासवाग् ।
 गोष्ठीपुरे गोष्ठीपतिं शशानं दर्मसंसारे ॥ १९ ॥
 अन्वी मद्मस्तके शौरिं वस्त्रादां भस्मरस्याले ।
 कुरजेत्तु तथा पूर्णे क्षत्यामेकं वर्तस्त्राले ॥ २० ॥
 अन्युतं चुद्रनद्यातु पद्मनामसनन्नके ।
 रतानि विष्णोःस्त्रावानि पूर्णिवानि सत्तावधिः ॥ २१ ॥

of India and not one of them in some far off Palestine.

VIII

This intense passion for fatherland, indeed, utters itself throughout Sanskrit literature. We select some of these references at random. The *Atharva Veda*, for instance, sings the praises of the mother country as the land of the brave and the pious, of heroism and enterprise, of commerce and trade, of science and art, of virtue and greatness, of countless medicinal herbs and plants;¹ the land, girt by the sea and fertilised by the sacred rivers like the Indus, and rich in grain and foodstuffs;² the land where our forefathers lived and worked, where the Asuras succumbed to the might of the

¹ *Av. XII. 2*—“नानावीर्या चोषधीर्या विभर्नि . . .”

² *Av. XII. 3*—“चक्षां समुद्र उत चिन्मुरपो चक्षामन्नं
क्षेत्रः सम्भूतः ।”

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Devas; ¹ the land which boasts of the highest mountain and the most beautiful forest; ² the land of sacrificial rites and sacred pleasures, of valour and renown, of patriotism and self-sacrifice, of virtue and kindness. ³ There are passages also in other Sanskrit works which refer to India as the chosen land, ⁴ a veritable

¹ *Av.* XII. 5—"यस्मां पूर्वे पूर्वजगा विचक्षिरे यस्मां देवा असुरानस्यवर्तयन् ।"

² *Av.* XII. 11—"गिरयस्ये पर्वता चिमवनोऽरण्ये ते हृषिचिसोनवस्तु ।"

³ *Av.* XII. 1. 22—"भूम्यां देवेष्यो ददति यज्ञं चवसरं कर्तम् ।"

Av. XII. 1. 41—

"यस्मां माथन्ति ज्ञात्यज्ञि भूम्यां सर्वावेष्यावाः ।

युद्धाच्चे यस्यामाकर्त्त्वे यस्मां चदति दुन्दुभिः ॥"

⁴ *Manu*, II. 17—"तं देवनिर्मातदेशं ब्रह्माधर्मं प्रचक्षते ।"

Vishnu Purana, II. iii. 24:—

माथन्ति देवाः किञ्च गीतकाणि

घन्यास्तु ते भारतभूमिभागे ।

सुर्गापर्वगास्यादसार्गभूते

भवन्ति भूयः पुरपाः कुरुत्वात् ॥

heaven on earth, culminating in the great national utterance

“ जननी जनाभूमित्य सर्वादपि गरीयसी ”

(‘ mother and motherland are higher than heaven itself ’).

IX

The same feeling for the fatherland has again spread over the whole continent a

[Thus do the gods sing the glories of Bhāratavarṣa: “ More fortunate than we are they who are born in that land wherein lies the veritable road to heaven and salvation.”]

Srimadbhāgavata, v. xix. 20, 27.

अहो वर्तपां किमकारि शोभवस्

प्रसन्न एवा स्तितुत स्वधन्तरिः ।

वैर्जन्म लक्ष्यं नृपतारताजिरे

नुकुञ्जमे वोपयिकं स्युच्छाहि नः ॥ १० ॥

• * * * *

यद्यन नः स्वर्वसुखायशेषितं

स्तिष्ठस्य स्वत्त्वाय करस्य शोभवस् ।

तेनाजनामे सृतिसज्जना नः स्याद्-

वर्ये चरिर्वद्य भजतां गं तमोति ॥ ११ ॥

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network of shrines and sacred places which constitutes one of the distinguishing and differentiating features of India. For it goes without saying that the institution of pilgrimage is entirely an expression of love for the motherland, one of the modes of worship of the country which strengthens the religious sentiment and expands the geographical consciousness. Behind the religious merit and sanctity of pilgrimage there lies the admiration of place, of art, even of geographical significance. Benares in the North and Conjeeveram in the South are loved and visited because they are cathedral cities, rich in architecture, in treasure and in the associations of saints and scholars. We also feel that Jagannāth owes its position in no small degree to the sheer beauty of the sea and also perhaps to the cosmopolitanism of the place as the port through which long flowed the eastern trade. Allahabad, the Tīrtharāja Prayāga, the prince of holy places,

inevitably rose at the confluence of two mighty rivers mingling their waters. The perennial beauty of the Himalayas has captivated the national imagination and has made them the refuge of holy men, drawing unending streams of pilgrims. Indeed, the Hindu's pilgrimages are always to the glacier-clad mountain, the palm-clad sea-shore or ocean-isle, or the almost impenetrable depths of hill and jungle, where the tread of the generations of Man has scarcely been heard, and Nature left free to exercise her healing and healthful influence. Thus the Indian treats the beauty of place in a peculiar way, foreign to the West : his method of appreciating and celebrating it is quite different. A spot of beauty is no place for social enjoyment or self-indulgence ; it is the place for self-restraint, for solitary meditation which leads the mind from nature up to Nature's God. Had Niagara been situated on the Ganges, how different would have been its valuation

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by humanity!¹ Instead of occasional picnics and railway pleasure-trips, the perennial pilgrimage of worshipping crowds. Instead of parks, *asramas*. Instead of hotels, temples. Instead of ostentatious excess, simple austerity. Instead of the desire to harness its mighty forces to the chariot of human utility, an absorbing subjectivity, a complete detachment from the body and the outward world to feed the life of the spirit!

Thus the institution of pilgrimage is undeniably a most powerful instrument for developing the geographical sense in the people which enables them to think and feel that India is not a mere congeries of geographical fragments, but a single, though immense, organism, filled with the tide of one strong pulsating life from end to end. The visit to holy places as an imperative religious duty has made wide travelling a national habit

¹ Cf. Sister Nivedita's "*The Web of Indian Life*," p. 241.

in India in all ages of life, with young and old alike, and travelling in ages preceding the era of steam and mechanical transport could not but promote a deep knowledge of the tracts traversed which is easily escaped by modern globe-trotters. It was this supremely Indian institution in fact which served in the past in place of the modern railway and facilities for travel to promote popular movements from place to place and intercommunication between parts producing a perception of the whole. It allowed no parochial, provincial sense to grow up which might interfere with the growth of the idea of the geographical unity of the mighty motherland ; allowed no sense of physical comforts to stand in the way of the sacred duty of intimately knowing one's mother country ; and softened the severities of old-world travelling by breaking the pilgrim's route by a holy halting place at short intervals.

It is difficult indeed to count up the

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innumerable sacred spots which an overflowing religious feeling has planted throughout India. One of the best lists¹ of these is to be found in the *Vana-parva*

¹ The *Garuda-purāṇa* preserves some authentic lists of the Hindu holy places all over India. The following passage in the sixty-sixth chapter distinguishes the principal sacred places thus:—

स्त्रांगप्रासीद्वारकाच नैमित्यं पुष्करं गया ।
वाराणसी प्रयागच्च कुरुचेच्च श्रीकरं ॥
गङ्गा च वर्षदा गोदा चन्द्रभागा सरस्वती ।
चीचेच्च भद्राकाल्लीष्ठानेतानि शक्तर ॥
सर्वं पापहराण्येव भुक्तिमुक्तिप्रदानिवै ।

But perhaps the best and a most exhaustive enumeration of holy places occurs in the eighty-first chapter, which passes in review the whole continent from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin in the following couplets:—

सर्वतीर्थानि वक्ष्यामि गङ्गातीर्थोत्तमोत्तमा ।
सर्वैच सुलभाभङ्गा चिषु स्त्रानेषु दुर्लभाः ॥
चरिद्वारे प्रयागेच्च गङ्गासागरसङ्गसे ।
प्रयागं परमं तीर्थं मूलान्तरं भुक्तिमुक्तिदम् ॥
चेवनात् कृतपिण्डानां पापमित् कामदं नृणाम् ।
वाराणसी परं तीर्थं विशेष्णो यचकेऽतः ॥
कुरुचेच्च यर्तं तीर्थं दावाय्यमुक्तिमुक्तिदम् ॥
प्रभासं परमं तीर्थं सोमनाथोऽहि यच्च ॥
द्वारकाच्च पुरी रम्या भुक्तिमुक्तिप्रदानिका ।

of the Mahābhārata where two descriptions are given of the principal holy places, one by Nārada and the other by Dhaumya. Other such lists are to

प्राची सरस्वती पुष्टा सप्तसारस्वतं परं ।
 कैदार्ट सर्वपापाङ्गं शालयाम उत्तमम् ।
 वरजारायर्थं तीर्थं मुत्त्वै वद्विरकाशम् ।
 चत्तेष्वीपं पुरी साथा नैसिपं पुष्टारं परम् ।
 अथोध्या चार्यतीर्थं चिच्छृणु गोपतीम् ।
 वैनायवं महातीर्थं रामगिरीथम् परम् ।
 काशोपुरी तु गमदात्रीलं सेतुवन्धनम् ।
 रामेश्वरं परं तीर्थं कार्तिकेशं तद्योतम् ।
 भृगुतुङ्गं काशतीर्थं चामरकण्डकं तथा ॥
 उज्ज्यविन्द्या महाकालः कुञ्जके श्रीधरोहरिः ।
 दुष्कालकं महातीर्थं कालशर्पिंच कामदन् ।
 महाकेशीच कावेरी चन्द्रभागा विपाश्या ।
 एकालशताथा तीर्थं व्रजेशं देवकोटकम् ।
 सचुराचु पुरी रम्या शोणश्चैव महानदः ।
 अमूसरो महातीर्थं तानि तीर्थानि विद्विच ।
 रुद्रः शिंशो गणो देवी चत्तिर्थं च तिष्ठति ।
 एतेषु च तथान्येषु स्तानदानं जपस्थपः ॥
 पूजाशार्द्धं पिष्ठदानं सर्वभवतिचाचयम् ।
 शालग्रामं सर्वदं स्थानं तीर्थं पश्यपतेः परम् ॥

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be found in the various accounts of what are known as the Piṭha-sthānas. The popularly known number, 52, is given by Tantra Chudāmani. According to Devī-

कोकामुख्य वाराहं भाष्टीर्ण स्तानिष्ठकम् ।
 सोहदष्टेमहाविष्णुर्मन्दारे सधुसूदनः ॥
 कामहृष्टं महातीर्थं कामाल्ला यच तिहति ।
 पुष्टवर्द्धनकं तीर्थं कार्तिकेयस्य यचच ॥
 विरजन्न महातीर्थं तीर्थं श्रीपुरुषोन्मम् ।
 महेन्द्रमर्वतस्तीर्थं कावेरीच नदीपरा ॥
 गोदावरी महातीर्थं पशोणी वरदा तदा ।
 विन्ध्यः पापचरं तीर्थं नर्मदामेद उत्तमः ॥
 गोकर्णं परमं तीर्थं तीर्थं माहिषातीपुरी ।
 कालज्ञरं महातीर्थं शुक्रतीर्थमनुजम् ।
 कृतश्च लुक्तिद्वच शश्वधारीच दण्डके ।
 विरजं चक्रदं तीर्थं स्वर्णाच तीर्थनुजम् ।
 नन्दितीर्थं मुक्तिद्वच कोटितीर्थफलप्रदम् ।
 नासिक्यद्वच महातीर्थं गोवर्द्धनसतःपरम् ।
 द्वाणवेणी भीमरेखा शण्डकी यालिरावती ।
 तीर्थं विन्दुसरः पुर्णं विष्णुपादोदकं परम् ॥
 श्रीरहस्य चरे खीर्थं ताषोत्रेष्टा महानदी ।
 सप्तगोदावरं तीर्थं तीर्थं कोण्ठिरिः परम् ॥
 महालक्ष्मीर्थं देवी प्रणीता परसा नदी ।

Bhāgavata, the number is 108 [7-30]. The Kubjikātantra also enumerates the various Siddhapithas throughout India. The Śiva-Charita distinguishes the Mahā-pīthas numbering 51 from the minor Upa-pīthas numbering 26. A reference to these holy places is also contained in the Kālika-purāṇa (chh. 18, 50, 61).

X

Along with this system and network of Hindu holy places should also be considered the multitude of monuments with which Buddhism and Jainism—ultimately and essentially but phases of Hindu thought—have adorned the land and influenced the geographical consciousness of large numbers of people

राज्याद्वौ देवदेवेश एकबीरः चुरेशरी ॥
 गङ्गाद्वारे कुम्भावते विष्णुके नीलपर्वते ।
 स्वाल्बा कनकके तीर्थे स भवेत् पुनर्भवे ॥

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under their direct sway. "Historically, both Buddhism and Jainism, may be regarded as offshoots or sects of Hinduism."¹ Buddhism in fact is the name given to Hinduism of the first few centuries of the Christian era, when precipitated in a foreign consciousness. Its special and most noteworthy contribution was a vast imperial organisation, highly centralised, coherent in all its parts, full of the geographical consciousness, uttering itself in similar architectural forms in the east and west of India, passionately eager to unify and elevate the people and to adorn the land. India became a self-contained, self-conscious unit, in full and living communication both by land and sea with China and Japan, Syria and Egypt, sending abroad ambassadors, merchants and missionaries with messages, commodities and ideas.

What the idea of pilgrimage is to the

¹ See V. A. Smith's "*A History of Fine Art in India*," etc., introduction.

Hindu mind, the worship of relics is to the Buddhist. The former realised itself in the planting of holy places, the latter in the erection of monuments beautifying the land. The Buddhist veneration of relics led to the construction of multitudes of domed cupolas (stupas, dagobās) for the safe custody of the relics, surrounded with accessory structures upon which were lavished all the resources of art; while the necessities of monastic life led to the erection of vihāras and chaityas, monasteries and churches, both rock-cut and structural. The *Pillars* (*latas*) at Delhi, Tirhut, Sankisa, Sanchi, etc.; the *chaitya-caves* and *viharas* at Bihar, Nasik, Ajanta, Elura, Karle, Kanheri, Bhaja, Bedsa, Dhamnar, Udaigiri, Bagh, etc.; *stupas* of Manikyala, Sarnath, Sanchi and Amaravati; the *gateways* and *stone railings* at Barahat (Bharhut), Mathura, Gaya, Sanchi and Amaravati; and lastly, the numerous Gandhara monasteries — all these, con-

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sidering their widely-separated locations, point to the extensive area which was unified by a common artistic impulse, a single religious idea.

XI

We have now seen how the idea of the essential unity of the Indian world underlying its truly continental vastness and variety has seized the national consciousness and become one of its natural, integral contents. It is also clear that this particular consciousness could not be a sudden growth but required time for its development. Its evolution must naturally correspond at every stage to the evolution of geographical knowledge in the Indian mind. The perception of India as a single country must wait on an intimate geographical knowledge of the whole of India previously obtained.

It is therefore necessary to trace the development of this geographical knowledge and mark out its successive stages.

XII

It goes without saying that in the Vedic age the geographical horizon embraced only a part of India. The extent and limits of Vedic India may be inferred from the river-hymn and other geographical data in the *Rig-Veda*. Mention is made therein of some twenty-five streams, all but two or three of which belong to the Indus river system. The word *Sapta-Sindhavah* is once used to indicate Aryan India, the land of seven rivers, which are generally understood to mean the five rivers of the Punjab, together with the Indus and the Kabul, for which the Sarasvati was afterwards substituted. The easterly limit of the

Aryan home is indicated by the reference in one or two places to the rivers Jamunā and Ganges. Thus the widest geographical extent of Vedic India was the country bounded "by the snowy mountains in the north, the Indus and the range of the Suleiman mountains in the west, the Indus and the sea in the south, and the valley of the Yamuna and the Ganges in the east."¹ The country beyond the Vindhya range and the Narmadā river, which are not mentioned in the *Rig-Veda*, was not known to the Vedic Aryans.

Later Vedic literature does not show any knowledge of Southern India. The passage in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* [vii. 18], in which Visvāmitra refers to the Andhras, Pundras, Sabaras, Pulindas and Mutibas as living on the borders of the Aryan settlements, only demonstrates that the Āryas were at that time acquainted with the whole country to the north of the

¹ Max Muller in *India: what can it teach us?* pp. 168, 174.

Vindhya and a portion to the south-east of that range.

XIII

The examination of the available evidence shows that the colonisation of Southern India did not accomplish itself till the seventh century B.C. Pāṇini, who "must have flourished in the beginning of the seventh century before the Christian era, if not earlier still,"¹ mentions many places and rivers which mostly belong to the Panjab and Afghanistan. The most southerly places mentioned by him are Kachchha [IV. 2, 133], Avanti [IV. 1, 176], Kosala [IV. 1, 171], Karusa² [IV. 1, 178], and Kalinga [IV. 1, 178].

The contemporary Pali literature points to the same conclusion. In one of the oldest Pali texts [the *Sutta-Nipāta*, 976] occurs the expression Dakkhinā-

¹ Sir R. G. Bhandarkar in his *Early History of the Deccan*.

² Eastern portion of Shahabad district in Behar.

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patha,¹ which does not mean the whole of modern Dekkan, but only a remote settlement on the upper Godāvari. The expression does not occur in any one of the four Nikāyas. It occurs again in the later text [*Vin.* 1, 195, 196; 2, 298], but only to mean the same district near the Godāvari and in conjunction with Avanti. The Nikāyas refer to sea-voyages out of sight of land [see my *History of Indian Shipping*, Part I., ch. III.] and to Kaliṅga and Dantapura near the coast, while the *Vinaya* to Bharukaccha [3, 38] and the *Udāna* to Supparaka [1, 10]. The approximate geographical extent of the most ancient Buddhism (*i.e.*, about the time of Buddha) is stated *inter alia* in the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta*, “where are named the

¹ *Dakṣināpatha*, lit., ‘the path or road of the south; the southern road’ was the technical expression for Southern India. The analogous expression for Northern India was *Uttarapatha*, lit., ‘the path or road of the north, the northern road’ which was of constant use, e.g., in connection with Harṣavardhana of Kanouj, who is called ‘समरसंचक्षसक्षोजरपथेश्वरश्री-हर्षवर्द्धनं’ the warlike lord of all the region of the North.

following chief towns as the dwelling-places of many nobles, Brahmans and Vaisyas converted to Buddhism, viz., Champā, Rājagaha, Sāvatthi, Sāketa, Kosambi and Maga-Baranasi, comprising between them the kingdoms of Kāsi-Kosala and Magadha, together with the territories now known as Oudh and Bihar. The same geographical extent may be inferred from the distribution of Buddha's relics among eight places as mentioned in the *Mahāparinibbana Sutta* [S. B. E., Vol. XI., pp. 129 ff.], which are: Rājagaha, Vesālī, Kapilavastu, Allakappa, Rāmagāma, Vethadīpa, Pāvā, and Kusinārā, besides the shrines erected by Drona the Brahmin and the Moriyas of Pippalivana. The extent of the whole of old Buddhist India may be similarly inferred from passages in some Pāli books [e.g., *Ānguttara*, 1. 218; 4. 252, 256, 260; *Vinaya Texts*, 2. 146], which enumerates the sixteen principal political divisions of the country as follows: (1) Āngā, (2) Ma-

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gadhā, (3) Kāsī, (4) Kosalā, (5) Vajji, (6) Mallā, (7) Cetī, (8) Vaṇsā, (9) Kurū, (10) Pañchālā, (11) Macchā, (12) Sūrasenā, (13) Assakā, (14) Avantī, (15) Gandhārā, and (16) Kambojā. Another similar list, indicating a slightly wider geographical extent, is to be found in the Govinda Sutta, 36 [*Dīgha-Nikāya*, XIX. 36], where the following seven provinces are distributed by the Brahman Govinda among King Renu and six other Kṣatriya princes, viz., (1) Kaliṅga, with its capital Dantapura; (2) Assaka, with its capital Potana; (3) Avanti, with its capital Māhismati; (4) Sovira, with its capital Roruka; (5) Videha, with its capital Mithilā; (6) Aṅga, with its capital Champā; (7) Kāsi, with its capital Bārānasi.

The *Lalita-Vistara* [ch. III.] also mentions the existence of sixteen great States in the different countries of "Jambudvīpa," and also names the following places and dynasties in connection with a discussion of their fitness as the birthplace of the

Buddha, viz., (1) the *Vaideha* dynasty of *Magadha*; (2) the *Kosala* dynasty; (3) the *Vaśarīja* dynasty, of which the Tibetan name is *Vadsa*, with its capital *Kauśambi*; (4) the city state of *Vaiśalī*; (5) the *Pradyotana* dynasty which ruled in *Ujjayinī*; in the Chinese version it is called *Mavanti*, apparently a corruption of *Avanti*; (6) the city of *Mathurā*, where ruled the race of King *Kańsa*; (7) the city of *Hastināpura* of the *Pāṇḍavas*; (8) the city of *Mithilā*; (9) the country of the *Śakyas* with its capital *Kapilavāstu*, which was finally chosen as the fit birthplace for the Buddha. "He surveyed all the Kṣatriya royal dynasties in the continent named *Jambu* and found all of them tainted except the *Sakya* race, which was devoid of all defect."

Again, in the tenth chapter of the same work where the Bodhisattva names the 64 kinds of writing there is a reference to the following places and tribes: (1) *Anga*, (2) *Vaṅga*, (3) *Magadha*, (4) the

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country of Śakāri, (5) Brahmavalli, (5) Dravida, (7) Dakṣina, (8) Ugra, (9) Da-rada, (10) Khāsaya, (11) Chīna, (12) the country of Huna.

All the above references, Sanskrit as well as Pali, show that the geographical horizon of the Indians between the Vedic and early Buddhist periods did not embrace Southern India and Ceylon, the knowledge and colonisation of which belonged to a later period.

XIV

Southern India first floats into the Indian geographical horizon at least as early as the fourth century B.C. If the whole of India was unknown to Pāṇini, it was well-known to his commentator Kātyāyana, whom both popular tradition and modern scholarship assign to the time of the Nandas who preceded the Mauryas. Kātyāyana's reference to the derivatives

Pāndyas, Cholas and Māhiśmat, supplements in reality both the grammar and geography of Pāṇini.

There is also Greek evidence to show that the Indians had a very accurate knowledge of the form and extent of India in the time of Alexander's invasion. According to Strabo [*Geographia*, ii. 1, 6], Alexander "caused the whole country to be described by men well acquainted with it." This account was afterwards lent to Patrokles, the satrap under Seleukus Nikator and Antiochus Soter, and was accepted as true by Eratosthenes and Strabo who on the basis of that account have given certain distances and dimensions about India which approximate to their modern measurements.

We also know from history how wide and deep was the geographical knowledge of the whole of India under the Maurya Emperor. Thus the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, which is generally attributed to Chānakya, the minister of Chandra-

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gupta, shows a good knowledge of the economic products of the various parts of India including the south. The trade-routes of India are divided broadly into two classes:¹ (1) the Northern, i.e., those leading to the Himalayas and called Haimavatah ; (2) the Southern called Dakṣināpathah. Of these the former are noted for their access to such commodities as elephants, horses, perfumes, skins, silver and gold, while the latter convey such valuable things as conch-shells, diamond, precious stones, pearls and gold, of which the Tamil land is the famous and fertile source. Commercially the latter are therefore held to be more important than the former. Southern India is also recognised to be abounding in mines. Some of the rivers of Southern

¹ “हिमवतो दक्षिणापथाच्छेष्यात् चक्ष्यन्वद्वत्ताजिन-
रुपसुवर्णपण्डास्त्वत्तरा इत्याचार्दः ।

नेति कोटित्यः—कन्वल्लाजनास्यपण्डवर्जाः शङ्काच्छसणि-
मुक्तास्युवर्णपण्डास्यभूततराः दक्षिणापथे ।

दक्षिणापण्डिति वक्ष्यन्विः...” Bk. VII. ch. 12.

India and of Ceylon are mentioned as sources of pearls, *e.g.*, Tāmraparṇīka, Kula, Chūrṇa; and also some mountains, *e.g.*, Pāndyavātaka, Mahendra. In the extreme north, some Himalayan villages are mentioned as the source of skins, *e.g.*, Visī, Mahāvisī, Aroha, Bahlava and also Nepal as sources of blankets. Kāmbhoja (Afghanistan, the *Kaofu* of Hiuen Tsang), Sindhu (Sindh) and Āratta (Panjab, lit. land of the kingless) are also mentioned as sources of the supply of horses. Among eastern countries are mentioned Vaṅga, Paṇḍra, Suvarṇa-Kudyaka (probably Kāmarūpa, as suggested by the commentator), Magadha, Kīśī and Kaliṅga, which were noted even in those early days for their cotton and silk fabrics. Aṅga, Karūṣa, Prāchya and Kaliṅga are also mentioned as sources of the supply of elephants. Mādura in the south, Aparānta on the west, Māhiṣa in the Deccan are also mentioned for their cotton fabrics. Surāṣṭra is also mentioned

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for its supply of elephants and Sauvira for horses. Lastly, some countries outside India are also mentioned with which she had trade across the seas (Pārasamudraka), e.g., Svarṇabhūmi noted for its perfumes, China for its silks (Chinapāṭṭāh) and Arabia (Vanāyu) for its horses.¹

The Edicts of Asoka also supply convincing evidence that the whole of India was known in his days. The southern independent kingdoms, such as the Chola, Pandya, Satiyaputra and Keralaputra, are mentioned, together with the Andhras and Pulindas. There are also mentioned the border nations on the north-west, west and the Deccan such as the Yonas, Kambojas, Gandharas, Rashtrikas, Pitenikas (probably connected with Paithan), Nabhatas. The conversion of Ceylon by Mahendra may also be taken to be a historical fact, supported as it is by both northern and southern tradition.

Thus by the time of the Maurya

¹ See *Arthashastra*, pp. 50, 75—81. Mysore Ed.

Empire the knowledge of all parts of India was a common possession, a content of the popular geographical consciousness. And we accordingly find the contemporary and subsequent literature replete with geographical details.

XV

Patañjali (150 B.C.) shows considerable advance upon Kātyāyana and has intimate knowledge of the south. Besides mentioning Māhismati [Mahābhāṣya on Pāṇ. III. 1, 26], Vaidarbha [IV. 1, 4], Kāñchipura [IV. 2, 2] and Kerala or Malabar [IV. 1, 175] he notices some lingual usages in the south [I. 1, 19].¹

It is difficult to ascertain the precise chronological value of the great epics Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata as we have them now. Popular Hindu belief assigns

¹ अस्ति च जोके सरभीश्वदस्य प्रदत्तिः दक्षिणापथेच्च
महानि सरांसि सरस्य इत्युच्चते

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to the Rāmāyaṇa¹ an earlier date and is supported by the fact that it shows a much less knowledge of Southern India than the Mahābhārata. Among the places lying to the south are mentioned Utkala, Kalinga, Dasarna [Bhilsa], Avanti and Vidarbha, which do not carry us very far beyond the line of the Vindhyas. Between these and the southernmost countries of the Cholas, Pāndyas and Keralas the Rāmāyaṇa mentions no other place but Dāṇḍakāranya. This state of geographical knowledge carries us back to the days of later Vedic literature before the 7th century B.C. Sugriva's descriptions, however, of places and peoples in the Kiskindhā Kāṇḍa [Sargas 40-43] exhibit broadly the conception of India as a whole which is distinguished from parts forming what may be termed Greater India, as also from surrounding countries and nations.

¹ The *Arthasāstra* refers to the story of the Rāmāyaṇa and *Mahābhārata* thus: “मानात् रावणः परदाराण-प्रयत्नं दुर्योधनो राज्यादेष्टं च।” [Mysore ed., p. 11.] ✓

That a *Mahābhārata* existed before Pāṇini is proved by his allusions to Vāsudeva, Arjuna and Yudhiṣṭhīra. The geographical horizon of the Epic as we have it now is indicated in the passage, among others, where Sahadeva is represented to have subdued the Pāṇḍyas, Dravidas, Udras, Keralas and Andhras [Sabhāp. ch. 31]. It is also indicated in the passage [Bhiṣmap. ch. 9], which enumerates the seven principal mountains of India and also by the list of some 200 rivers given in the tenth chapter of Bhiṣmaparva, where are mentioned the southerly rivers, Mahānādī, Godāvarī, Kriṣṇā and Kāverī, Narmadā, Kriṣṇavēnī, Vēna, Tunga-Vēna. The Bhiṣmaparva, chapter IX., mentions 157 peoples belonging to Northern India and 50 peoples belonging to the south of the Narmadā. The Vanaparva, as has been already stated, affords interesting geographical data in the lists of holy places it gives. The holy places in the south

mentioned are the Godāvarī, Vēna, Payoṣṇī, the Agastya-tīrtha and the Varuṇa-tīrtha, the Tāmraparnī and Gokarṇa-tīrtha, the Kavērī and the Kanyā-tīrtha (probably Kanyā Kumāri, Cape Comorin). The itinerary of the Pāṇḍavas is also similarly interesting. It refers to such places as the Vaitaraṇī in Kalinga, the Mahēndra mountain where lived Paraśurāma, and the Pāṇḍya country whence they reached Surpāraka.

Besides this intimate knowledge of the parts, the Mahābhārata presents a conception of the whole of India as a geographical unit in the famous passage in the Bhīṣmaparva where the shape of India is described as an equilateral triangle, divided into four smaller equal triangles, the apex of which is Cape Comorin and the base formed by the line of the Himalaya mountains. As remarked by Cunningham [*Ancient Geography of India*, p. 5], "the shape corresponds very well with the general form

of the country, if we extend the limits of India to Ghazni on the north-west and fix the other two points of the triangle at Cape Comorin and Sadiya in Assam."

XVI

The geographical knowledge of the *Mahābhārata* is followed up by all the *Purāṇas*, which are well-known for their detailed information regarding the places and peoples of India. They also present the conception of India as a geographical unit in their description of the country as made up of nine divisions, viz., Indra, Kasērumat, Tāmrāparna, Gabhastimat, Kumarikā, Nāga, Saumya, Varuna, Gāndharva, which agree with those of the famous astronomer Bhāskarāchārya [Siddhāntaśiromāṇi, ch. III., 41].

Varāhamihira [Vṛihat - Sañhitā, ch. XIV.], however, gives a different list of the Nine Divisions which deserves a

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more than passing notice for the wealth of topographical details it presents. It may be given as follows:—

I. Central Division: Tribes—Kurus, Pañchālas, Pāṇḍus, Sūrasenas, Vatsas, etc. Towns—Mathurā, Sāketa. Rivers—Yamunā and Sarasvatī.

II. Eastern Division: Tribes—Ambas-thas, Kauśalakas, Pañḍras, Prāgjyotisās, Tāmraliptikas and Utkalas. Countries—Kośala, Mithilā, Kāśī, Magadha, Pūṇḍra, Tāmalipti, Samatata, Udra, etc.

III. South-eastern Division: Tribes—Chedikas, Dasārṇas, Niśādas, etc. Countries—Aṅga (Chedi), Upavaṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Andhra, Vidaṛbha, etc. Mountains—the Vindyas.

IV. South Division: Tribes—Ābhiras, Āvantakas, Cheryas, Kairalakas, etc., mariners (नारिचर), etc. Countries—Avanti's beryl-mines (Vaidūrya), Bhārukachchha, Chitrakūṭa, places for obtaining conch-shells, Kāñchī, Laṅkā, southern ocean, places for obtaining pearls, Siñhala,

Talikata, Vellura, Chera, Chola, Kachchha, Karnāṭa, Kerala, Koikana, etc. Forests—Dandakavana. Mountains—Dardura, Kusuma, Mahendra, Malaya, Malindya, Riṣyamūka, Sūrpa, etc. Rivers—Kavēri, Kriṣṇā, Tāmraparnī and Vēnā.

V. South - west Division : Tribes—Ābhiras, Aravas, Barbaras, Kirātas, Mākaras, Pahlavas, Sindhus, Sauviras, Sudras, Yavanas, etc. Countries—Māhārnava, Ānarta, Drāviḍa, Kambhōja, Pārasava, Surāṣṭra, etc.

VI. Western Division : Tribes—Aparāntakas, Haihayas, Mlechchhas, Śakas, Vaiśyas, etc.

VII. North - west Division : includes Hārahauras, Stri-rājya, and the river Venumati.

VIII. Northern Division : Tribes—Huṇas, Kaikayas, Udīchyas, etc. Towns—Puṣkalāvatī, Takṣaśilā. Countries—Gāndhāra, Uttarakuṇḍa. Mountains—Dhanuṣmat, Himavat, Kailāsa, etc. River—Yamunā.

IX. North-east Division : includes Kāsmīra.

XVII

We may conclude the above account of the development of Indian geographical knowledge by a reference to the geography of Kālidāsa. In the conquests of Raghu are mentioned (in the east), the Suhmas, the Vaṅgas, the river Ka-piśā, the Utkalas, the Kalingas with the mountain Mahendra ; in the south, the river Kāverī and, beyond it, the Pāṇḍyas with their pearls produced at the mouth of the Tāmraparnī, the mountains Malaya and Dardura, and, crossing them, the Keralas ; on the west, crossing the Muralā river, Aparānta between the Sahya range and the sea, the Pārasikas ; in the north, the Yavanas, the Hūṇas, the Kam-bōjas, the Kirātas and other hilly tribes near the Kailāsa mountain ; Prāgjyotiṣa in the extreme east. In the Meghadūta

the places mentioned on the route of the cloud messenger from Rāmagiri to Alakā are the following: Sātpura hills, Mālava, the Revā (Narmadā), Vindhya range, Dasārṇa, capital Vidiśā, Ujjayinī on the Śiprā, river Gandhavatī, Gambhirā, Devagiri, Charmaṇvatī, Daśapura, Kuru-kṣetra, the Sarasvatī, the Kankhala hill near the Ganges, the source of the Ganges, Mount Kailāsa, Mānasa lake and Alakā.

XVIII

We have now seen how the Indians in ancient times before the era of steam and mechanical locomotion possessed a thorough knowledge of the different parts, tribes and races of India welded together into a whole which was so essential to their realisation of the idea of the geographical unity of their vast country. We have also seen that it was not a mere intellectual conception or an abstract

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idea but a vivid realisation through the heart; not the happy hit of a momentary inspiration but the settled habit of national thought induced by religious texts and daily prayers.

But along with the influence of religion as explained above, there was also the influence of *politics* in producing this popular consciousness of Indian geographical unity. History records the names of many Indian rulers who succeeded in realising their ambition of establishing a suzerainty over the whole of India which was accordingly thought of and used as a unit, as the common field of national activity. Such a ruler in older days was Harsavardhana, who reigned from 606 to 648 A.D. over an empire that embraced the whole of the basin of the Ganges (including Nepal) from the Himālayas to the Narmada, besides Malwa, Gujrat and Surāṣṭra, and won for itself recognition as a paramount power in the land. Such a ruler, too,

in yet older days was Samudra Gupta in the fourth century, A.D., who carried his victorious arms from the Ganges to the border of the Tamil country and thus achieved the political unification of a large part of India with an alliance extending from the Oxus to Ceylon. Such a ruler again in the past before the Christian era was Asoka the Great, one of the most illustrious in the illustrious roll of Indian Emperors, whose empire extended over the entire territory stretching from Afghanistan to Mysore, being "far more extensive than British India of to-day, including Burma" (V. A. Smith's *Asoka*, p. 81), and became a self-conscious political power with active international relations. And such a ruler was also Chandragupta, wrongly supposed to be the first historical paramount Sovereign of India, under whom also India realised herself as a political unit as she was already by nature a geographical unit.

XIX

It is a mistake to suppose that Chandragupta was the first to introduce to Indian politics this conception of a single power dominating the whole country, for the idea was certainly much older than Chandragupta and was handed down from remote antiquity. The conception of a Chakravarti Raja or suzerain receiving the tribute and allegiance of subordinate kings has been one of the most familiar political notions of the ancient Hindus. Vedic literature furnishes a crop of terms for a paramount sovereign. These are :—

(1) *Adhirāja*, which occurs fairly often throughout the early literature to denote overlord among kings or princes. Thus it is found in the *Rig-Veda*, X. 128, 9; *Atharvaveda*, VI. 98, 1 and IX. 10, 24;

Taittiriya Sañhitā, II. 4, 14, 2; *Maitrāyani Sañhitā*, IV. 12, 3; *Kāthaka Sañhitā*, VIII. 17; *Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa*, III. 1, 2, 9 (*adhirājan*); *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, V, 4, 2, 2; *Nirukta*, VIII. 2.

(2) *Rājādhirāja*, King of Kings, which is found in the later *Taittiriya Āranyaka*, I. 31, 6.

(3) *Samrāj*, which is used to mean superior ruler, sovereign, expressing a greater degree of power than king. It occurs in the *Rig-Veda*, III. 55, 7; 56, 5; IV. 21, 1; VI. 27, 8; VIII. 19, 32; also in the *Vājasaneyī Sañhitā*, V. 32; XIII. 35; XX, 5, etc.; also in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, V. 1, 1, 18 [cf. XII. 8, 3, 4; XIV. 1, 3, 8], where the *Samrāj* is asserted to have a higher authority and rank than a king, and to have become one by the sacrifice of the *Vājapeya*. The epithet is also applied to Janaka of Videha in *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XI. 3, 2, 1. 6; 2, 2, 3; and in *Brihadāranyaka Upanisad*, IV. 1, 1; 3, 1. It is applied in the

Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, VIII. 14, 2, 3, as the title of the Eastern kings, the kings of the Prāchyas (suggestive of Magadhan imperialism). The title for the Southerners, the kings of the people called *Sattvats*, is *Bhoja*; that for the Western kings, the kings of the peoples called *Nīchyas* and *Apāchyas*, is *Svarāṭ*; that for the kings of the North, beyond the Himalayas, viz., the countries *Uttara Kuru* and *Uttara-Madra*, is *Virāṭ*; and that for the kings of the middle country, viz., of the *Kuru-Pañchālas* and *Usinaras*, is simply *Rāja*.¹

¹ “साधार्याय साधादे तस्यां प्राच्यां दिशि थे के च प्राच्यानां राजानः साधार्यादेव ते शिष्यन्ते ।

तस्मादेतस्यां दिवियस्यां दिग्गिर्ये के च सत्यतां राजा मी
भौत्यादीव से अभिविच्चने ।

तस्मादेतस्या प्रतीच्या दिशि ये के च नीचाना राजागी
ये पात्त्याना स्वारात्त्यादैय ते असियित्यने ।

तथादेतस्यामुदोचां दिशि ये के च परेण चित्तवन्नं
जनपदा उत्तरकुरव उत्तरसदा भूति वैराज्यादिव ते भिन्न-
पिण्डोऽन्तः ।

तच्छादस्यां भ्रुवायां न असायां प्रतिष्ठायां दिग्गि ये को च

(4) *Ekarāja*: meaning "sole ruler," "monarch." It is used metaphorically in the *Rig-Veda*,¹ VIII. 37, 3, but in the literal sense in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*,² VIII. 15, as well as in the *Atharvaveda*,³ III. 1, 4, 1.

According to *Sukrānti* [I. 183-187, ed. Oppert], the generic term *Nṛipati* (नृपति) embraces the following classes of kings arranged in an ascending scale of income and power, viz., *Sāmanta* (सामन्त), *Māṇ-*

कुरपत्ताक्षामां राजामः सवशोशीनराणां राज्याद्येव ते इभि-
यिष्यन्ते राजेत्येवानभिषितानाच्चते ॥

¹ "एकराज्यस्य भुवनस्य राज्यस्य इच्छीपत इन्द्र विचाभि-
कृतिभिः ।"

² "... उथिच्ये समुद्र पर्यन्ताच्या एकराज्यिति ।"

³ "आ लाग्न् राष्ट्रं सच्च वर्चं सोर्दित्तिं प्राक् विशंपतिरे-
कराद्द्वं विराज," which is thus paraphrased by *Sāyana*:
के राजन् लां राष्ट्रं शतुभिराक्षान् खकीयं राज्यं पुनरागमत
तत्तद्वं वर्चं वर्चं वलेन सच्च उदित्ति उदितः प्रखातो भव ।
अभन्तरं प्राक् पूर्वं विश्वं प्रजानां सर्वासां पतिः पालकः
सन् एकराठ निःसप्तलो भुख्यो राजा भूतां लं विराज
विशेषेण दीप्यस्ते ॥

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dalika (दालिक), Rājā (राजा), Mahārāja (महाराजा), Samrāt (सम्राट्), Virāt (विराट्), and Sārvabhauma (सार्वभौम).

XX

Along with these terms for the suzerain there were also corresponding terms to indicate paramount power, sovereignty or overlordship. Thus the term *Rājya* is the general word denoting "sovereign power." It occurs in *Atharvaveda*, III. 4, 2; IV. 8, 1; XI. 6, 15; XII. 8, 81; XVIII. 4, 31. It also occurs in *Taittiriya Saṅhitā*, II. 1, 3, 4; 6, 6, 5; VII. 5, 8, 8, etc.; in *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VII. 23, etc., and *Jaiminiya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa*, I. 4, 5. In some places the word *Svārājya*,¹

¹ Might it not refer to republics or free states such, for instance, as those of the Licchavis, the Sakyas, the Mallas of Kusinara which were themselves also called by the name of *Rājya* (राज्य) with their Presidents called *Rājā* (राजा)? Thus according to the *Arthasāstra* [xi. i, 160-161] the title *Rājā* applies to the heads of the common-

“uncontrolled dominion,” is opposed to *Rājya*: e.g., *Kāthaka Sañhitā*, XIV. 5; *Maitrāyaṇi Sañhitā*, I. 11, 5 (cf. *Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa*, I. 3, 2, 2). The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* [VIII. 12, 4, 5, etc.] gives a whole series of terms to indicate various shades and degrees of sovereignty, viz. :—*Rājya*, *Sāmrājya*, *Bhaujya*, *Svārājya*, *Vai-rājya*, *Pāramasthya*, *Māhārājya*, *Ādhipatya*, *Svāvaśya*. The term *Ādhipatya* also occurs in *Pañchavīnsa Brāhmaṇa*, XV. 3, 35, and in *Chhāndogya Upaniṣad*, V. 2, 6.¹

wealths of Lichchhivika, Vrijika, Mallaka, Madraka, Kukura, Kuru, Pāñchāla, etc. (“सिंच्चिदिक्षित्यजिक-सक्षक-सदक-कुरु-कुरु-पांचालाद्यो राजाश्वदोपजीविनः । ”)

What lends colour to the supposition is the reference in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* to the kings of the Western peoples who were called *Svarāṭ* as distinguished from the Eastern kings known as the *Samrāṭs*. For the free states and clans of ancient India, see Rhys David's *Buddhist India*, p. 174.

¹ Among other terms preserved in Sanskrit literature to indicate paramount sovereignty are :—*Sārvabhauma* (सार्वभौम), *Rājarāja* (राजराजा), *Visvarāṭ* (विश्वराट), *Chakravartī* (चक्रवर्ती), etc.

XXI

Next there were the well-known ceremonies¹ in connection with the coronations of emperors. These were generally the Vājapeya and the Rājasūya, the accounts of which as preserved in Vedic literature demonstrate how firmly the conception of an Ekarāt (one-sovereign) India seized the popular mind. According to the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* [V. 1, 1, 13] and also *Kātyāyana Śrauta Sutra* [XV. 1, 1, 2], the Vājapeya is the superior sacrifice because it bestows on the sacrificer paramount sovereignty (Sāmrājya), while the Rājasūya merely confers royal dignity (Rājya). In the words of the above-

¹ An interesting and informing article on "Rituals at Hindu Coronation: its Constitutional Aspects," by Mr. Kashiprasad Jayaswal, B.A. (Oxon), Bar.-at-Law, appeared in the *Modern Review* for January, 1912.

mentioned verse of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, “by offering the Rājasūya he becomes king, and by the Vājapeya (he becomes) emperor (Samrāj); and the office of king is the lower and that of emperor the higher; a king might indeed wish to become emperor, for the office of king is the lower and that of emperor the higher; but the emperors would not wish to become kings, for the office of king is the lower and that of emperor the higher.”¹ According, however, to other authorities, the Vājapeya is the preliminary ceremony performed by a king who is elected paramount sovereign by a number of petty rājās, this sacrifice being followed in due course by the installation and consecration ceremony, the Rājasūya. Thus, as laid down in *Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra* [IX. 9, 19], “after performing the

¹ “राजा वै राजसूयेनेद्वा भवति । सद्वाह वाजपेयेनावरं हि राज्यं परं साधार्यं कामयेत् वै राजा सद्वाह भवितुमवरं हि राज्यं परं साधार्यम् ।”

Vājapeya a king may perform the Rājasūya." With this rule would seem to accord the relative values assigned to the two ceremonies in the *Taittiriya Sañhitā* [V. 6, 2, 1] and the *Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa* [II. 7, 6, 1], according to which the Vājapeya is a Samrātsavā or consecration to the dignity of a paramount sovereign, while the Rājasūya is called a "Varunasavā," i.e., according to Sāyana, a consecration to the universal sway wielded by Varuna (cf. *Sāṅkhya-yāna Śrauta Sūtra*, XV. 13, 4: "for it is Varuna whom they consecrate"). In much the same sense also we have doubtless to understand the rule in which Lātyāyana defines the object of the Vājapeya [VIII. 11, 1], viz., "Whomsoever the Brahmans and kings (or nobles) may place at their head, let him perform the Vājapeya."¹ Among the rites peculiar to the Vājapeya, the most

¹ "यं ब्राह्मणा राजानश्च पुरस्कुर्वीरन् स वाजपेयेन यजेत् ।"

interesting is the chariot race, in which the sacrificer is allowed to carry off the palm, and from which the sacrifice derives its name. After the chariot race the next interesting item is the mounting of the sacrificial post by the sacrificer (the king-elect) and his wife, from which homage is made to the mother Earth, followed by the seating on the throne, the symbol of sovereignty, "for he gains a seat above others" [*Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, V. 2, 1, 24]. The ascent to the throne as a symbol of kingship is also mentioned in the *Atharvaveda* [III. 1, 4, 2], where the throne is most felicitously described as the highest point in the body politic ("rāstrasya kakudi śrayasva"). The sacrificer is then duly proclaimed King¹: "All ruler is he, N. N.! All ruler is he, N. N.!" [*Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, V. 2, 2, 15]. And also in the following

¹ " सचालयसस्त्रौ सचालयससाविति निवेदितमेवेनमेतत् सनाम् । "

words¹: "Thine is this state, thou art the ruler, the ruling lord—thou art firm and steadfast—to thee the state is given for agriculture, for well-being, for wealth, for prosperity, *i.e.*, for the welfare of the people, the common weal" [*ibid.* V. 2, 1, 25].

XXII

The Rājasūya, or inauguration of a king, was a more complex ceremony, which consisted of a long succession of sacrificial performances spread over a period of upwards of two years. It is referred to in the *Atharvaveda* [IV. 8, 1; XI. 7, 7] and later literature such as *Taittiriya Saṅhitā* [V. 6, 2, 1], *Aitareya*

¹ "इथं ते राज्ञिति राज्यमेवाञ्छिद्वेतद्दृ दधात्वयैनमासाद-
दयति यन्नामि यमन इति यन्नारमेवैनमेतद्दृ यमन भासी
प्रजानां करोति भ्रुवीषिः धरण इति भ्रुवमेवैनमेतद्दृ
धरणमस्तिंजोके करोति खण्डे खा चेमाय ला रण्डे खा
पोषाय लेति साधवे लेत्यैवैतदाच्च ।"

Brāhmaṇa [V. 1, 1, 12], etc. The rite is described at great length in the Sutras, but its main features are clearly outlined in the Brāhmaṇas, especially in the *Śatapatha*, and also in *Maitrāyaṇī Saṅhitā* [IV. 8, 1, etc.], *Taittiriya Saṅhitā* [I. 8, 1, 1, etc.], while the verses used in the ceremony are preserved in the Saṅhitās of the Yajurveda, e.g., *Taittiriya Saṅhitā* [I. 8], *Kāthaka Saṅhitā* [XV.], *Maitrāyaṇī Saṅhitā* [II. 6], and *Vājasaneyī Saṅhitā* [X.].

One of the most interesting features of the Rājasūya is the ceremony of the Ratnahavīṇi or jewel offerings. The recipients of these offerings, the *ratnīnah*, were all the essential officers of the state representing its principal departments: they are, metaphorically, the "jewels" in the crown of sovereignty. They are mentioned in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* [V. 3, 1, 3, etc.] in the following order: (1) Commander-in-chief (*senani*); (2) the king's court chaplain (पुरोद्धव); (3) the queen (कन्त्तिकी); (4) the court-minstrel and

chronicler (कृत); (5) the head of the village community (पामष्टी); (6) the chamberlain (चतुर्षी); (7) the head of the treasury (मंगलीव), which is explained by Sāyana as अनसंयुक्तं कोशाध्यज; (8) the collector of taxes and revenue (भागदुष); (9) the superintendent of dicing (अचावापा); (10) the superintendent of games and forests (गो-निकर्त्ता), who, according to Sāyana, was the constant companion of the king in the chase; and (11) the courier (पालामज). There is another list given in the *Taittiriya Saṅhitā* [I. 8, 9, 1, etc.] and *Brāhmaṇa* [I. 7, 8, 1, etc.] which omits Go-nikartana and the courier and includes Rājanya. Likewise the *Maitrāyanī Saṅhitā* [II. 6, 5; IV. 3, 8] mentions Rājan, Vaisyagrāmanī and Takṣa-ratha-kārau,¹

¹ The Ratha-kāra, chariot-maker, is mentioned in the *Atharvaveda* [iii. 5, 6] as one of those who are to be subjects to the king, and seems to be regarded generally as a representative of the industrial population. He is also referred to in the *Yajurveda* *Sanhitās* [e.g., *Kāthak*, xvii. 18; *Maitrāyanī*, ii. 9, 5; *Vājasaneyi*, xvi. 17; xxx. 6] and in the *Brahmanas* [e.g., *Taittiriya*, i. 1, 4, 8; iii. 4, 2, 1; *Śatapatha*, xiii. 4, 2, 17], and in all these passages he seems to be of a formed caste.

i.e., the carpenter and chariot-maker (probably the representatives of industry). The *Kāthaka Sañhitā* [XVI. 4] also gives the same list, but substitutes Go-vyacha and omits Takṣa-ratha-kārau.

These lists were a development out of the simpler list given in the *Atharva-veda* [III. 5, 7] of the Raja-kartris or Raja-krīts who, not themselves kings, aided in the consecration of the king. These were the Sūta, charioteer, the grāmanī, the village chief, and the people.¹ The word Rāja-kartā in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* [VIII. 17, 5] is explained by the commentator to mean the king's father, brother, etc. It is, however, apparent from these lists of persons aiding in the royal coronation that both official and non-official or popular elements were represented in the function. The relation of jewels to the sovereign's

¹ Cf. *Atharvaveda* [iii. 1, 4, 2] :—

त्वं चिष्ठो दृष्ट्वा राज्याय = "the people elect you to rulership." In *Taittiriya Sañhitā* [ii. 3, 1, 8] the Viś clearly means the people.

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crown must also be implied to be the relation subsisting between the king on the one hand and the state functionaries and other popular representatives on the other. Each is necessary for the other.

The next interesting feature in the *Rājasūya* was the *Abhiṣechanīyam*, the consecration ceremony. It begins with the offerings to the Divine Quickeners, viz., Savitā Satyaprasava for righteous energy, Agni Grīhapati for householders' prosperity, Soma Vanaspati for growth of trees (flora or agriculture), Brihaspati Vāk for power of speech, Indra for lordship, governing capacity, Rudra for cattle, Mitra for truth, and Varuna Dharmapati for protection of the law, since "that truly is the supreme state when one is lord of the law." Then follow the preparation of the consecration water, made up of no less than seventeen kinds (including the waters of dew, pond and sea); the sprinkling by a Brahman, a kinsman of the king-elect, a Kṣatriya

nobleman (rājanya) and a Vaisya ; the investing of the king with the consecration garments and with bow and arrows, three in number, as emblem of sovereignty, so as "to make all the quarters safe from arrows for him"; the announcements of the kingship to all classes of people, the Brahmans and Kṣatriyas, priesthood and nobility, and even animate and inanimate nature ; the ascending of the quarters, East, South, West, North and upper region, so that "he is high above everything here and everything here is below him"; the anointing with the following significant formula¹: "Quicken him, O Gods, to be unrivalled for great chiefdom, for great lordship, for the government of the people whose king he is—this man, O ye

¹ अषपत्रं दुवद्वितीम् देवा अभाद्र्यं सुवद्वित्येवैतदाह
महते चाच्य भृते वैष्टायेति जाच तिरोऽहितसेवालि
महते जानराज्यायेति महते जानानां राज्यायेत्येवैतदाचेन्द्र-
ल्येन्द्रियायेति वीर्यायेत्येवैतदाह चदा चेन्द्रल्येन्द्रियायेति ।
[Satapatha, v. 4, 2, 3.]

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(Bharatāḥ in the *Taittiriya Saṅhitā*), is
your king . . . !”

XXIII

Besides the Vājapeya and the Kājasūya, we find two other forms of the inauguration of great kings described in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*. They are called *Punaravīṣekha* and *Aindra-mahābhiṣekha*. The object of these special consecrations is thus described:—The priest who wishes that his Kṣatriya king-elect should achieve all kinds of conquest, should know (by governing) all peoples, should attain to a position of leadership, precedence and superiority among kings, should secure sovereignty, a dominion of righteousness, absolute independence, highest distinction as a ruler, fulfilment of highest desires, the widest empire and highest authority, that he might be a universal overlord, with his powers reaching everywhere up to the limits of the sea, the sole master of his vast

dominion—such a priest should inaugurate the Kshatriya with Indra's great inauguration ceremony, demanding from him a promise on oath that he will lose everything, even the accumulated fruits of his good deeds, all he has, even his life, if he attempts violation of right and truth.¹

XXIV

The elaboration of the rituals connected with these imperial inaugurations,² which

¹ अत्र चर्वेषां राज्ञा चेष्टामतिष्ठा परमता गच्छेऽसाचाच्यं
भोच्यं खाराच्यं चैराच्यं पारमेष्ठां राच्यं भाहाराच्यं चाधि-
पत्यमहं समन्वपर्याधीस्तां साच्यंभोमः साच्यायुप चान्नादा-
पराह्नात् धृथिच्यै समुद्रपर्यन्ताच्य एकराजिति ।

² Along with the ceremonies of the Vājapeya, Rājāsūya, and Asvamedha should also be noticed the institution of Digvijaya, which was inseparable from the conception of a paramount sovereign in the popular Hindu mind. Sanskrit literature, epic, pauranic or classical, is full of references to this institution, and the more prominent examples of Digvijaya are those of Satrughna, Arjuna (see Jaimini Bhārata), Raghu (see Raghuvanśa), Pushpamitra (see Mūlavikāgnimitra), Samudra Gupta, Harsavardhana, Gautamiputra Śatākarpi, Pulakesi II, Lalitaditya of Kashmir (see Rājatarangini), etc.

it is unnecessary to follow in greater detail for our present purpose, indicates without doubt the nature of the political environment in which it was developed, the height of the ideal which kingship in India had realised in practice. The geography of India has indeed partially influenced her history: her vast expanse had practically no limits in the eyes of the early settlers and colonisers; she was a world unto herself. An infinite stretch of territory produced a psychology, a philosophy that was easily dominated by a sense of the infinite and eternal.¹ The Hindu Rishi would recognise no limits to the development of his finite self. The Hindu king would also set no bounds to his political ambition. It was nothing short of universal sovereignty, which was reduced by the actualities of the objective environment into the sovereignty of the whole of India "up to the limits of

¹ For a similar sentiment, cf. Sister Nivedita's *The Web of Indian Life*, p. 148.

the ocean." The highest class in the hierarchy of Hindu kings was made up of those who were Āsamudrakṣitisa ("आसमुद्रक्षितिस"). As the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* puts it: "Monarchy at its highest should have an empire extending right up to natural boundaries, it should be territorially all-embracing, up to the very ends uninterrupted, and should constitute and establish one state and administration in the land up to the seas" (VIII. 4, 1). Thus it was again his religion which put before the Hindu king the ideal of making the area of authority co-extensive with that of territory. The territorial synthesis leads the way to the political synthesis and is in turn emphasised by it.

XXV

Side by side with these ideals and conceptions of an all-India overlordship, the books also preserve for us traditional

lists¹ of kings who are said to have succeeded in realising them in life—giving another proof that at least the conception of India, both as a political and geographical unit, was not foreign to Hindu consciousness. Such a list is to be found in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* [VIII. 14, 4; 19, 2] and mentions the following great kings, each of whom achieved the singular distinction of “subjugating the whole country up to its farthest limits in every direction” :—

- (1) Janamejaya Pāriksita with his priest Tura Kāvaseya.
- (2) Śāryāta Mānava with his priest Chyavana Bhārgava.
- (3) Śatānika Sātrajita with his priest Somaśuṣmā Vājaratnāyana.
- (4) Āmbāsthya with his priests Parvata and Nārada.

¹ A comparative study of these lists in Sanskrit Literature will, however, tend to establish the historicity of these Indian great kings who preceded Chandragupta Maurya, the so-called *first* paramount sovereign of India. This should prove a very fruitful line of investigation.

(5) Yudhānśrauṣṭi Augrasenya with the priests Parvata and Nārada.

(6) Visvakarmā Bhauvana with his priest Kaśyapa.

(7) Sudās Paijavana with his priest Vasiṣṭha.

(8) Marutta Āvikṣita with his priest Saīvarta.

(9) Āṅga Vairochana with his priest Udamaya Ātreya. He is said to have made to his priests gifts of innumerable cows, 80,000 white horses, 10,000 elephants, etc.

(10) Bharata Dausmanti with his priest Dirghatamā Māmateya. He is also said to have given away (i) innumerable elephants of black colour with white tusks and golden trappings in the country of Maśīnāra ; (ii) innumerable cows to 1000 Brahmins of the country named Sāchi-guna. He is also said to have kept 78 horses in a place on the Yamunā, and 55 in the place named Vṛitraghṇa on the Ganges for purposes of his horse-sacrifices,

and thus subdued the enemy's power. As the heavens are inaccessible to human hands, so was the height of Bharata's achievements to all classes of men—viz., the Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaisyas, Sudras and Nisādas (Sāyana). It was this Bharata after whom Bhāratavarṣa was named as mentioned above.

(11) Durmukha Pāñchāla with his priest Brihaduktha.

(12) Atyarāti Jānantapī with his priest Vasiṣṭha Sātyahavya. This king was afterwards deprived of his power for his breach of faith with his priest and was killed by his enemy Śaivya Śuṣmiṇa. The land of Uttarakuru is also referred to as unconquerable in the story.

Besides the list of great kings in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* there is another list to be found in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* [XIII. 5, 4] of kings who performed the horse-sacrifice and were therefore recognised as paramount sovereigns. For the Asvamedha, as is well known, involved

an assertion of power and a display of political authority such as only a monarch of undisputed supremacy could have ventured upon without courting humiliation. The ruling of the *Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra* [XX. 1, 1] on the point may be quoted: "A king governing the whole land [Śarvabhauma शार्वभौम] may perform the Asvamedhā."¹ The

¹ "राजा शार्वभौमो श्वसेदेव यजेत् ।"

The Asvamedha sacrifice was performed in the following manner:—"A horse of a particular colour was consecrated by the performance of certain ceremonies and was then turned loose to wander for a year. The king, or his representative, followed the horse with an army, and when the animal entered a foreign country the ruler of that country was bound either to fight or to submit. If the liberator of the horse succeeded in obtaining or enforcing the submission of all the countries over which it passed, he returned in triumph with all the vanquished Rūjus in his train; but if he failed he was disgraced, and his pretensions ridiculed. After his successful return, a great festival was held at which the horse was sacrificed [Dowson, *Classical Dict.*]." In the Asvamedha of Yudhishthira the horse is guarded in its year's roaming by Arjuna, who first presses eastwards towards the sea, then turning southwards along the eastern shore as far as the extreme point of the peninsula, turns northwards on the homeward way, passing along the western coast.

list of these Asvamedhins is given as follows :—

1. Janamejaya Pārikṣita with his Rishi Indrota Daivāpa Śaunaka.
2. Bhīmasena
3. Ugrasena
4. Śrutasena
5. Para Ātnāra, the Kausalya king.
6. Purukutsa, the Aikṣāka king.
7. Marutta Aviksita, the Āyogava king.
8. Kraivya, the Pāñchāla king ("the Pāñchāla overlord of the Krivis").

The historical list of Asvamedhins includes the following names : (1) Pushyamitra [see Mālavikāgnimitra Act V.] ; (2) Samudragupta [see Udayagiri Cave Inscription of Chandragupta II., L. 5 ; Bilsad Stone Inscription of Kumāragupta, L. 2, &c.] ; (3) Kumāragupta I. and (4) Adityasena [see V. A. Smith's *Early History of India*, p. 295]. On some of the gold coins which are attributed to Samudragupta, there occurs the legend asvamedha-pārikramah (अस्वमेध-परिक्रम) "he who has displayed prowess by a horse-sacrifice." [See J. A. S. B. Volume LIII, Part I., p. 175 ff, and Pl. ii., No. 9; and Arch. Surv. West. Ind., Vol. II., p. 37f, and Pl. vii., No. 4.] Pulakesi I., the Chalukyan King, is also said to have performed a great Asvamedha or horse-sacrifice. [See Bhandarkar's *Early History of the Deccan*, p. 37.]

9. Dhvasan Dvaitavana, the king of the Matsyas.

10. Bharata Dauhṣanti ("who attained that wide sway which now belongs to the Bharatas"). He is said to have bound 78 steeds on the Yamunā and 55 near the Gangā and conquered the whole earth (cf. *Aitareya Br.* above).

11. Riṣava Yājnātura.

12. Sātrāśāha, the Pāñchāla king.

13. Śatānika Sātrājita.

The *Śankhāyana Śrauta Sutra* [XVI. 9] also preserves a similar list of Asvamedhins, which includes the following kings :—

1. Janamejaya	}	Pārikṣitas.
2. Ugrasena		
3. Bhīmasena		
4. Śrutasena		
5. Riṣava Yājnātura.		
6. Vaideha Alhāra.		
7. Marutta Āvikṣita.		

XXVI

These lists of great kings preserved in Vedic literature are also supplemented by other lists in the Purāṇas and other works. The Kūrma Purāṇa [XX. 31] mentions King Vasumanā; the Padma Purāṇa mentions King Dilīpa and his predecessors Manu, Sagara, Marutta and Yayāti [IV. 110-118]; while the Agni Purāṇa [ch. 219, 50-51] mentions Prīthu, Dilīpa, Bharata, Valī, Malla, Kakustha, Yuvanāsva, Jayadratha, Māndhātā, Mu-chukunda, Pururavāh. The Brahma Purāṇa mentions Pururavāh, who is called Prithivipati¹ (पृथिवीपति), Bhīma, called Rājarāt,² Yayāti,³ who subdued the earth up to the seas, Kārtavīrya-Arjuna,⁴ who is called Samrātchakravartti. The Brahmānda Purāṇa mentions Prīthu.⁵ The Mārkanḍeya mentions Pururavāh⁶

¹ X. 9.⁴ XIII. 174.² X. 18.⁵ LXIX. 1, 2, 3.³ XII. 18.⁶ CXL. 13.

as Chakravartī and Marutta.¹ The Śiva Purāna mentions Chitraratha,² Prīthu³ as Chakravartī, and Hariśchandra⁴ as Samrāt. The Linga Purāna mentions Yayāti,⁵ Kārtavīrya-Arjuna,⁶ Śāśavinda,⁷ and Uśanā.⁸ The Skanda-Purāna mentions Kārtavīrya⁹ as Samrāt Chakravartī. The Bhāgavata Purāna mentions Māndhātā¹⁰ and Sagara¹¹ as Chakravartī and Muchukunda¹² as Akhandabhūmipa. The Devīpurāna uses the word Ekarāt¹³ in respect of a Daitya named Ghora. The Viṣṇu-purāna mentions Sagara,¹⁴ Chandra,¹⁵ Bharata,¹⁶ Mahāpadma Nanda,¹⁷ and Chandragupta.¹⁸ The Vāyu mentions Sagara,¹⁹ Kārtavīrya-Arjuna²⁰ and Uśanā.²¹ The Matsya mentions Pururavāh²² and Puru,²³ the son of Yayāti.

¹ CXXXII. 8, 4. ² XXIV. 84, 85. ³ *Ibid.* 65, 66.

⁴ LXI. 21. ⁵ LXVI. ⁶ LXVIII.

⁷ LXVIII. ⁸ *Ibid.* ⁹ *Pravīra-khanda*, XX. 11, 12.

¹⁰ IX. vi. 34. ¹¹ *Ibid.* 4. ¹² X. li. 14.

¹³ II. 89. ¹⁴ III. iv. 17. ¹⁵ VI. iv. 6.

¹⁶ XIX. iv. 2. ¹⁷ XXIV. iv. 5. ¹⁸ XXIV. iv. 7.

¹⁹ LXXXVIII. 144. ²⁰ XXIV. 11. ²¹ XCIV. 9.

²² XCV. 28. ²³ XXIV. 25.

The Mahābhārata in many places refers to the great Indian kings of old. A complete enumeration of them is contained in the Śantiparva [ch. XXIX.], where the following kings are named :—

1. Marutta, son of Aviksita.
2. Suhotra, son of Atithi.
3. Brihadratha, the King of the Āngas.
4. Śivi, the son of Uśinara, “who swayed the whole earth as one sways the leatheren shield, and the wheels of whose victorious chariot rolled unopposed over the whole earth, who brought the whole earth under one authority,”¹ etc.
5. Bharata, the son of Dusmanta and Sakuntalā, who, as stated above

¹ य दूरा शृथिवीं सर्वां चर्मवर्त् समवेदयत् ।

महता रथघोषेण शृथिवीसतुनादयन् ।

एकच्छ्रवा सर्वीं चक्रे जैत्रैकरथेन यः ॥

in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, sacrificed three hundred horses on the banks of the Yamunā, twenty on the Sarasvatī, and fourteen on the Gangā.¹

6. Rāma, son of Daśaratha.
7. Bhagiratha of Iksāku dynasty.
8. Dilīpa.

9. Māndhātā, son of Yuvanāśva, who subdued the whole earth and vanquished the following kings, viz., Angāra, Marutta, Asita, Gaya and Brihadratha, the King of the Aiigas,² and on whose wide empire “the sun never sets.”

10. Yayāti, son of Nahūṣa, who con-

¹ ओ बङ्गा विश्वं चाचात् देवेभ्यो घसुगामनु
सरखसीं विश्विष्व लङ्गामनु चतुर्दश ॥

[46]

² तमिमं द्युथिवी सर्वा रकाङ्गासमपद्यत ।
यसाङ्गारसु नूपर्ति सरत्तमचित्तं गथम् ।
चङ्गं द्वहद्रथवह्व मान्वाता समरेऽजयत् ॥
* * *
यत्र स्तुर्यं उद्देतिम् यत्र च प्रतितिष्ठति ।
सर्वं तद्यौवनाच्चस्य मान्वातुः चेचमुच्यते ॥

[87, 88, 90]

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quered the whole earth up to the seas and performed a hundred Vājapeyas.¹

11. Ambarīṣa, the son of Nābhāga, the king of innumerable kings.²

12. Śāśavindu, the son of Chitraratha.

13. Gaya, the son of Amurtharayas.

14. Rantideva, son of Saukriti.

15. Sagara of Iksāku dynasty, whose sway extended over the whole earth.³

16. Prīthu, the son of Vena.

The *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya also gives expression to the conception of an all-India overlord and a list of kings who

¹ य इमां इथिवीं छत्क्षर्णि विजित्य सत्रं सागराम् ।
* * *

व्यभजात् इथिवीं छत्क्षर्णि यथातिर्निर्जयाकाजः ॥
[94, 97]

² यः सत्रं सत्त्वार्था राज्ञामयुत्याजिनाम् ।
* * *

प्रते राजसत्त्वादिष्ठ इते राजभत्तानि च
सर्वैऽवसेधे रीजानामाल्लेन्वयुद्दिविषायनम् ॥
[101, 108]

³ एकच्छामा सत्री यस्य प्रतापादभवत् पुरा ।
[182]

realised that ideal. The paramount sovereign is called *chāturantorājā* (चातुरन्तो राजा) [Mysore edition, p. 11], i.e., whose dominion extends up to the farthest limits in the four quarters of the country ; he is also represented as governing the whole country with none to dispute his right ("अनन्तो द्विवीं नुक्ते") [ibid.]. His dominion (*chakravarti ksetram* चक्रवर्तिक्षेत्रम्) is specially defined as the country between the Himalayas and the ocean, which is an evident reference to Chandragupta's sovereignty [हिमवत्समुद्रान्तरं चक्रवर्तिक्षेत्रं (Mysore ed., p. 33)]. There is a list of kings which includes the following names : (1) Dāndyakya-Bhoja, (2) Vaideha-karāla, (3) Janamejaya, (4) Tālajangha, (5) Aila, (6) Ajavindu-Sauvira, (7) Rāvana, (8) Duryodhana, (9) Dambodbhava, (10) Haihaya-Arjuna, (11) Vātāpi. These kings all failed to be great because of their want of self-control and subjection of the senses. Among the successful

great kings are named Ambarīṣa and Nābhāga [see pp. 11, 12, Mysore ed.].

XXVII

Following this long line of great Indian kings we come across the illustrious name of Yudhiṣṭhīra, who proclaimed his overlordship and paramount-power before the Imperial Durbar at Indraprastha, to which were invited kings from the remotest parts of India and beyond to render him homage and realise the unity of that vast empire into which were federated their smaller kingdoms. For the Mahābhārata preserves for us a picture of India that was divided politically into innumerable small states, kingdoms and republics, whose mutual jealousies and animosities afterwards culminated in the Great War of the Mahābhārata. It was left to the superior power of Yudhiṣṭhīra to arrest these disruptive tendencies for a time by the evolution of a peaceful confederation

in which every state was kept in its proper sphere and orbit to promote the larger life of the whole. That this task of political reconstruction was not an easy one, that the ancient Śāstric ideal of kingship of bringing the whole country "up to the sea" under the yoke of a common authority was difficult to achieve was thus recognised by Yudhiṣṭhira [Sabhā parva, XV. 2]: "There are kings everywhere living independently, doing what they like, but they have not attained to the rank of emperor, for that appellation is difficult to obtain."¹ The situation was indeed full of difficulties. There were powerful kings on every side aiming at overlordship. To the north there was Hastināpura, the capital of the Kurus. To the east Mathurā was held by a powerful sovereign. To the south the King of Mālava was a standing menace,

¹ "गृहे गृहे हि राजानः स्वस्य स्वस्य प्रिदंकराः ।
न च वाचाच्यसामासे सचाद्गद्वी चिद्वाच्यनाम् ॥"

and to the west there was the principality of Virāṭa equally ambitious. There were other mighty kings in different parts of India, but the most powerful of them was Jarāsandha, King of Magadha, who aspired to suzerainty. His subjugation was the first achievement of the Pāṇḍus in their career of an all-India conquest, and four grand military expeditions were then organised, one to proceed to each quarter of India. Arjuna assumed the command of the northern advance, and to his might fell victims the Kulindas, the Kālakutas, the Avarthas, the Śvākala-dvipis ; Bhagadatta of Prāgjyotisa ; the Himalayan chiefs such as those of Uluka, Modapura, Vainadeva, Sudāman, Susankula, Devaprastha, etc. ; also the Kirātas and the Chinas. Arjuna then turned towards the west through Kāshmir to Balkh and, on his way back, through Kamboja, Darada, etc. Across the Himalayas were encountered the kings of Kimpilla-varṣa and Hālaka near Mānasa lake and, lastly,

Uttarakuru. The second expedition was led by Bhima towards the east, subduing Drupada, Daśarna, the Pulindas, Chedi, Kosala, Ayodhyā, Uttara Kosala, Urulla and the Terai; then Kasi, the Matsyas, the Maladas, Madadhāras, the Vatsabhumiyas, the Bangas, the Santakas and Varmakas, and several Kirāta and other races. Mithilā courted alliance and Magadha paid tribute. Then the country of Karna (Bhagalpur) was subdued and subsequently the petty chiefs of Vaṅga. The southern advance was under Sahadeva, who similarly marched victorious through many petty kingdoms and, crossing the Narmadā, passed through Kiskindhā, Mahiṣmati to Southern India, securing the allegiance of Dravida, Sarabhipattanam, Tāmra island, Timingila (the country of the whale), Kaliṅga, Andhra, Udra, Kerala, Tālavana, Ceylon and other places. On his way home, he passed along the western coast through Surat to Guzrat, and finally

returned home, laden with wealth and presents. Nakula, leading the western expedition, passed through Rohitaka and thence Southern Rajputana to Mahetha, Sivi, Trigarta, Ambastha, Mālava, Pañchkaiphatas, Mādhyamaka, Vatadhāna; thence he turned towards Puṣkara and, through the Abhira country, marched on to the Punjab and encountered in the north-west the Pallavas, Barbaras, Kirātas, Yavanas and the Śakas, from all of whom he obtained valuable presents and acknowledgment of allegiance.

Thus the whole of India for the time resounded with the din of the conquering marches of the Pāṇḍavas asserting the authority of a superior power; the whole country was united in submission to a sovereign claiming its homage and alliance. India once again was imagined and used as a political unit; the different parts were integrated into a federal whole: the separated lives

of the provinces were united in a common life.

XXVIII

The story of Yudhisthira known to every Hindu has accordingly immensely popularised the old Vedic conception of an all-India sovereignty of which Yudhisthira was such a prominent embodiment. The idea became one of the current political notions of the ancient Hindus, not a subject of thought but an integral part of thought. It lost none of its strength in later times. It had sufficient vitality to stamp its impress on the earliest Buddhist thought. We are generally familiar with the influences of Hinduism on Buddhism; we know how Buddhism is rooted deep in the religious speculation of the Hindus. But we do not know that some of the fundamental religious conceptions of the Buddhists were inspired by Hindu *political* thought as distinguished from Hindu religious thought.

For the early Buddhist ideas of the Buddha were dominated by the then prevailing Hindu ideal of the chakravarti Rājā to which the Buddha was always thought and described to conform. The Hindu ideal was understood by the Buddhists and explained in the early Suttas to be that of "a King of Kings, a righteous man who ruled in righteousness, lord of the four quarters of the earth, invincible, the protector of his people, possessor of the seven royal treasures."¹

The first of these treasures was the treasure of the wheel which is represented to roll onwards, like the sun in old Vedic poetry, to the very extremities of the world conquering and to conquer.² The

¹ *Mahā-Sudassana Sutta* in S. B. E., Vol. xi., p. 248.

² Cf. *Rig-veda* [vii. 82, 20] : "The much-landed Indra I incline by means of the song as a cartwright bends the rim of a wheel made of good wood"; and also [i. 82, 35] "the lightning in his hand rules over all men as the rim of a wheel embraces the spokes." In the *Sutta* the wheel is represented to have rolled towards the East, South, West and North followed by the Emperor to whom "all rival kings became subject."

second treasure of the King of Kings is the white elephant which can carry its master across the broad earth to its very ocean boundary like the Airāvata of Indra, "the personification of the great white, fertilising rain-cloud so rapid in its passage before the winds of the monsoon over the vault of heaven." The third treasure was the treasure of the horse, probably also derived from the Vedic "charger-King whose name was thunder-cloud." The fourth was the treasure of the gem called the *Veluriya* (from which the word *beryl* is probably derived), "the splendour of which spread round about a league every side," like the jewel of lightning with which Indra in the Vedas slays the demon of darkness. Fifthly, the King of Kings is the possessor of a pearl among women ; and the two last treasures are a *treasurer* and an *adviser*, faithful servants, like the pearl among women, of the king of kings.

Such a king of kings the early Bud-

dhists saw in Buddha who became the ruler of a supernatural world,¹ an empire of truth; whose wheel was the wheel of the Dharma which the King of Righteousness himself had set rolling onwards, that wheel which will roll over all the world, unchecked in its course; whose Prime Minister was his chief disciple Śariputta; and whose teaching, like rain cloud, rained down the ambrosia of bliss, fertilising right desires, extinguishing the fires of lust, hatred and ignorance.

Thus the old Hindu conception of a paramount overlordship having reference to an actual empire was seized by early Buddhist thought to describe its achievement which resulted in the foundation of an ideal empire, the empire of righteousness in the hearts of men. The Hindu Chakravarti was he who made

¹ Cf. *Selasutta in Suttanipāta* [III. 7, 7]: "A King am I, Sela, the King Supreme Of Righteousness. The royal chariot wheel In righteousness do I set rolling on—that wheel that no one can turn back again."

the wheels of his chariot roll unopposed over all the world; the wheel was the symbol of his power. But Buddha was a different kind of Chakravartī: he who set rolling the royal chariot-wheel of a universal empire of truth and righteousness.¹ His wheel was the symbol not of power but of Dharma. His work is accordingly described as *Dhamma chakkappavattana*, which is the name given to the famous Sutta in which is embodied the very essence of Buddha's teachings.¹

XXIX

It is thus abundantly clear that in the days of ancient Buddhism the whole of India was comprehended as a single territory to be brought within the scope of one all-embracing authority though the conception was expanded and idealised by Buddhist religious fervour. And

¹ See Rhys Davids, *Hibbert Lecture*, pp. 129 and 4, *Buddhism*, pp. 45, 46, 220, and *S. B. E.*, Vol. XI.

Chandra Gupta was thus not the first to conceive and realise the ideal of paramount sovereignty, but only came into the possession of a rich inheritance which his genius utilised and improved to the fullest extent. His success naturally contributed a good deal to the strength and popularity of the ideal he represented and realised. The problem "How can a king become a king of kings?" soon became a favourite familiar topic of discussion in the ancient schools of political thought. It gave rise to much scientific, systematic speculation, which was embodied in the theory of the *Mandala* or Circle of Kings as outlined in the works on *Niti-Śāstra*. We find expositions of this theory both in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya and the *Nīti-Śāra* of Kāman-daka in which there are also references to earlier authorities. The theory postulates the natural inevitable desire of small kings to become great and finds in that instinct the regulative principle or law

which rules the political world in almost the same sense as gravitation rules the physical ; which determines the evolution of states and the growth of empires and establishes a stable equilibrium and a balance of power.

The whole country is conceived of as a political circle (सप्तल) at the centre of which is the head (मण्डलाधिप), who is technically called *Vijigisu* (विजिगीष), the would-be conqueror, who is to emerge as the paramount power dominating the system, who "shines in his sphere like the full moon."¹ The normal political circle is that formed by twelve kings,² including the central victorious king or sovereign, round whom are ranged, both in the front and rear, nine subordinate kings in varying degrees of friendliness and hostility, and two neutral kings (called

¹ *Kāmandaki*, VIII. 2, 3.

रथी विराजते राजा विश्वदे सप्तले चरन्
रोचते सर्वभूतेभ्यः शशीवास्पदमण्डलः ।

² सर्वस्त्रीकप्रतीतं तु स्फुटं द्वादशराजाकम्—[*Ibid.* 41.]

सम्बन्ध and उदासीन). This confederation of twelve kingdoms connected with one another by all possible kinds of political relationship is regarded as an approximation to the actual state of things, a map of the actual political situation, showing also its possible developments due to all conceivable changes of attitude of the component units. Thus the variations of the normal political system have been noticed by the ancient authors of polity. Kauṭilya¹ mentions a confederation or circle of three kings who may constitute a "sphere of influence"; Maya² of four kings (चतुर्बाहुपक्षः); Pulomā³ of six kings; Brihaspati⁴ of eighteen kings; and Viśālakṣa⁵ of fifty-four kings, and so forth. Thus the central monarch will find his sphere of action embracing both friendly and hostile kingdoms,⁶ but if he is self-

¹ " विजिगीचुसिंचं सिवसिंचं चाऽस्य प्राप्तयः तिथः । "

[Arthashastra, VI. ii. 17.]

² Kāmandaki, VIII. 20.

³ Ibid. 71.

⁴ Ibid. 26.

⁵ Ibid. 28.

⁶ Ibid. 21: " आकीर्णं सम्बन्धं सर्वं सिवैररिभिरेव च । "

possessed, strong in all the elements of sovereignty, he is bound to achieve pre-eminence and attain to suzerainty ("रक्षय्ये")¹ by his superior policy and state-craft, which by a proper manipulation of the various political forces can easily render his own position invincible, supreme and paramount.²

¹ *Arthashastra*, V., vi., 14, 15. The "elements of sovereignty" are "साम्यसात्त्वजनपददुर्गकोश्यसिद्धाणि," i.e., the king, the minister, the country (which by the way should have capital cities both in the centre and the extremities of the kingdom—"सधे चान्ते च सानवान्"), the fort, the treasury, the army, and the ally.

² Cf. *Kāmandaki*, VIII. 83 :

इति च राजा जयवर्णना व्रजन्
समुद्धरी मण्डलशुद्धिमाचरन् ।
विराजते साधु विशुद्धसण्डलः
ग्रन्थशीव प्रतिबन्धयन् प्रजाः ॥

Also *Arthashastra*, VI. i. 17:

"आत्मार्द्वस्त्वत्पदेशोऽपि युक्तः प्रकृति-सम्पदः ।
वयजः पृथिवीं कृत्स्नां जयत्येव न हीयते ॥"

Again [VI. ii. 17] :

नेत्रिमेकान्तरान् राज्ञः कृत्वा चानन्तरानरान्
नाभिमात्रानमायच्छेत् नेता प्रकृतिमण्डले ॥

("The leader of the confederation or circle of states

XXX

But the ideal of a paramount sovereign dominating the whole of India, besides expressing itself in literature, utters itself in no uncertain tones through some of the early Indian epigraphic records. Thus the term *Mahārāja* (महाराज), *lit.*, a great king, was used as one of the titles of paramount sovereignty by Kaniska, Huviska, and Vāsudeva, who, there is every reason to believe, were paramount sovereigns, in their inscriptions of the years 9, 89, and 83.¹ It is also used, in conjunction with the higher title of *Rājātirāja*, "superior king of kings," by the same three kings in their inscriptions

will make himself the nave of a wheel, of which the rim or circumference will be formed by the combination of friendly chiefs (*lit.*, those kings who are separated from the central king by another king) and the spokes by the inimically inclined chiefs and will thus control the whole system.")

¹ *Arch. Surv. Ind.*, Vol. III., p. 81, Pl. XIII., No. 4; p. 82, Pl. XIV., No. 9; and p. 84, Pl. XV., No. 16.

of the years 11, 47, and 87.¹ In still earlier days the same title Mahārāja, in conjunction sometimes with the title Rājātirāja, and sometimes with Rājarāja (राजराज), “king of kings” (the two together being equivalent to the Greek *basileus basileon*), was used on the bilingual coins of Hemokadphises² (in conjunction with Rājātirāja) and of Azes³ (in conjunction with Rājarāja). It was also used by itself to represent the Greek *basileus* on the coins of Hermaeus. The title Rājādhirāja occurs by itself on some of the coins of Maues⁴ and in conjunction with the title Mahārājā on some of the coins of Azes,⁵ while Rājātirāja occurs in the same sense but coupled with Mahārāja in the Mathura inscription of Huviska⁶

¹ *Arch. Sur. Ind.*, Vol. III., p. 88, Pl. XIV., No. 12 and p. 85, Pl. XV., No. 18.

² Gardner and Poole's *Catalogue of Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India*, p. 124 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 78 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 68 ff., Nos. 4, 5, 9, 11, and 17.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 85 ff., Nos. 138, 140, and 157.

⁶ *Arch. Sur. Ind.*, Vol. III., p. 88, No. 12, and Pl. XIV.

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of the year 47 and of Vāsudeva¹ of the
year 87.

In the inscriptions of the Guptas the following titles are used to indicate supreme paramount sovereignty, viz., Mahārājādhīrāja (महाराजाधिराज), Parameśvara (परमेश्वर), Paramabhattāraka (परमभट्टारक), Rājādhīrāja (राजाधिराज) and Chakravartin (चक्रवर्तिन्). Thus the Allahabad posthumous stone pillar inscription of Samudragupta refers to him as "the Mahārājādhīrāja, the glorious Samudragupta," and to his "conquest of the whole world." It also refers to him as "the son of the Mahārājādhīrāja, the glorious Chandragupta I." and "the Mahādevi Kumāradevi,"² and

¹ *Arch. Surv. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 35, No. 18, and Pl. XV.

² " . . . महाराजाधिराजश्ची-चन्द्रगुप्त-पुत्रस्य-महादेवात्-
कुमार-दत्ता-उत्पद्धस्य-महाराजाधिराज-शी-समुद्रगुप्तस्य-
सर्वेषांश्चिदो-विजय-जनितीदथ-चाप्त-लिखितावणी-
तत्त्वम् . . . "

Mahadevi was a technical title of the wives of paramount sovereigns along with Paramabhattārīkā and Rājñī [cf. Mandar Hill Inscriptions of Ādityasena, Nos. 44 and 45 and Deo. Baranark inscription of Jivitagupta II, No. 46 in *Corpus. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III].

also to Chandragupta II. as Paramabhattāraka.¹ The *Eran stone inscription* of Samudragupta compares him with the great ancient monarchs Prithu and Rāghava,² and refers to his subjugation of "the whole tribe of kings upon the earth."³

The Udayagiri cave inscription of Chandragupta II. refers to him as Paramabhattāraka and Mahārājādhirāja. The Mathurā stone inscription of Chandragupta II. refers to both Samudragupta and Chandragupta I. as Mahārājādhirāja, and to himself as the exterminator of all kings, who had no antagonist (of equal power) in the world and whose fame extended up to the shores of the four oceans,⁴ and who was the restorer of the

¹ L. 83 of the inscription.

² L. 8—"नृपतयः एव-राघवाद्याः . . ."

³ L. 11—"पार्थिव-गणस्त्वक्त्वः पृथिव्या . . ."

⁴ L. 1, 2.—

"सर्वराजोऽकेन्तुः पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथस्य चतुरदधिस-
जिल्ला-स्वादित-यशसो . . . " L. 5—"अस्मेधाहतुः . . . "

asvamedha-sacrifice that had been long in abeyance. The Sanchi stone inscription of Chandragupta II. also refers to him as Mahārājādhīrāja, who has acquired banners of victory and fame in many battles.¹ Another Udayagiri cave inscription of Chandragupta II. refers to the purchase-money of his prowess which bought the earth and made slaves of all kings,² and uses the epithet Rājādhīrāja. The Gadhwa stone inscription of Chandragupta II. refers to him as Mahārājādhīrāja.³

Kumaragupta is referred to as Mahārājādhīrāja in the two Gadhwa stone inscriptions⁴; also in the Bilsad stone pillar inscription,⁵ which applies the epithet to his ancestors Chandragupta II.,⁶ Samudragupta,⁷ and Chandragupta I.,

¹ L. 4—

“... अनेक-समरावाप्त-विजय-यशस्-पताकाः...”

² L. 2—

“विक्रम-चायक्रम-क्रीडादास्य-चक्रमूल-पार्श्वाद्या...”

³ L. 1 and L. 10.

⁴ L. 1 in both the inscriptions.

⁵ L. 5.

⁶ L. 6.

⁷ L. 4.

and makes a special reference to Samudragupta as the restorer of Asvamedha sacrifice.¹ The Mankuwur stone image inscription of Kumāragupta, however, refers to him only as a Mahārāja, which was then a subordinate feudatory title, either by a mistake or because of the reduction of Kumāragupta to feudal rank by the Pusyamitras and the Hunas. The Mandasor stone inscription also refers to Kumāragupta as reigning over the whole earth.²

Skandagupta is called Mahārājādhirāja in the Bihar stone inscription,³ which repeats the usual ancestral references and exploits. The Bhitari stone pillar inscription refers to him as the most eminent hero in the lineage of the Guptas,⁴ who by his conquests "subju-

¹ L. 2—"... अस्वमेधाहन्तः..."

² " शृण्यवर्णं प्रभासति "—L. 19.

³ L. 22.

⁴ L. 7—"... गुप्तवंशीकवीरः..."

gated the earth,"¹ and repeats the ancestral exploits. The Junagadh rock inscription calls him Rājarājādhirāj,² who "made subject to himself the whole earth bounded by the waters of the four oceans,"³ who "destroyed the height of the pride of his enemies and appointed protectors in all the countries ;"⁴ who is the banner of his lineage, the lord of the whole earth ; whose pious deeds are even more wonderful than his supreme sovereignty over kings,"⁵ etc. The Kahauṁ stone pillar inscription refers to him as the lord of a hundred kings, "whose hall of audience is shaken by the wind caused by the falling down (in the act of performing

¹ L. 14—" . . . यो वाङ्म्यासवणी विजित्य . . . "

² L. 2.

³ " . . . चतुरदधिजखान्नं-स्फीत-पर्वन्नदेशं अवनीस-
वनतारियः . . . "

⁴ L. 6—" . . . रवं स विला एथिवौं समर्थां-भयायदर्थान्-
द्विपत्त्य-कला-सर्वेषु देशेषु विधाय गोमृतं . . . "

⁵ L. 24—" दशारिदर्पं प्रणुदः प्रशुश्रियः - स्वरं शकेतोः -
सकलावनी-पतेः—राजाधिराज्यानुत्पुष्टक वर्णः . . . "

obeisance) of the heads of those hundred kings.”¹ The *Indor copper-plate inscription* of Skandagupta applies to him the titles Paramabhattraka and Mahārājādhirāja, and speaks of his “augmenting victorious reign.”²

The Meherauli posthumous iron pillar inscription of Chandra refers to him as having attained sole supreme sovereignty in the world and “the breezes of his prowess by which the southern ocean is even still perfumed,” who crossed the seven mouths of the Indus and conquered the Vāhlikas.³

The Mandasor stone pillar inscription of Yasordharman describes him as a paramount sovereign holding sway over a large

¹ L. 1—“ बद्धोपखानभूमिरनृपतिष्ठतस्मिरः पात्रासावधूत...” L. 3—चितिपश्नतपते:...”

² L. 8—“... परमभट्टरक - सहाराजाधिराज - श्री-खल्दगुप्तस्याभि-वक्त्रसाण-विजयराज...”

³ L. 2—“ तीर्त्ता भग्नसुखानि येन समरे सिन्धोर्जितावा क्षिकायस्याद्याप्तिष्ठवास्यते जलनिषिद्धीर्यानिन्देदंचितः । ”
L. 5—“ ... ऐकाधिराज्यं चितो... । ”

part of India from the river Lauhitya or the Brahmaputra to the western ocean and from the Himalayas to the mountain Mahendra. He is described as falling but little short of Manu and Bharata, Alarka and Māndhātri, the great kings of old, in whom the title of "universal sovereign" shines most.¹

Another Mandasor stone inscription of Visnuvardhana applies to him the titles of Rājādhirāja and Paramesvara, and refers to his subjection of many mighty kings of the east and north.²

The long Alina copper-plate inscription of Siladitya VII. applies the epithets Paramabhattāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, Parameśvara and Chakravartin to Dharasena IV. and the first three epithets to

¹ L. 3—"... स त्रेयो-धामि-सचालिति मनु-भर-
साल्हसाभावकच्चे काल्याणे हेत्ति भास्त्र-सचिरिव सुतरा॑
धाजते यत्त ग्रन्थः ।"

² L. 6—"... प्राचो नृपात् सुवृत्ततात् यज्ञनुदीचाः
साम्भा युधा च वशगान् प्रविधाय येन नामापरं जगति
कान्तमदो दुरापं राजाधिराजपरमेश्वर इत्युद्दृढः ।"

Śilādityadeva III., Śilādityadeva IV., Śilādityadeva V., Śilādityadeva VI., and Śilādityadeva VII.

The Mandar Hill rock inscription of Adityasena applies to him the paramount titles Paramabhāttāraka and Mahārājādhīrāja.

The Deo-Baranark inscription of Jivita-Gupta II. uses the paramount titles Paramabhāttāraka, Mahārājādhīrāja and Paramesvara in respect of Devaguptadeva, Visnuguptadeva and Jivitaguptadeva II.

The Sonpat copper seal inscription of Harsavardhana applies the paramount titles Paramabhāttāraka and Mahārājādhīrāja to Prabhākaravardhana, Rajavardhana II., and Harsavardhana.

The copper-plate inscription of Samudragupta discovered at Gayā repeats the paramount title Mahārājādhīrāja and the achievements of Samudragupta and his ancestors.

Some of the historical inscriptions in the cave-temples of Western India con-

part of India from the river Lauhitya or the Brahmaputra to the western ocean and from the Himalayas to the mountain Mahendra. He is described as falling but little short of Manu and Bharata, Alarka and Māndhātri, the great kings of old, in whom the title of "universal sovereign" shines most.¹

Another Mandasor stone inscription of Viṣṇuvardhana applies to him the titles of Rājādhirāja and Paramesvara, and refers to his subjection of many mighty kings of the east and north.²

The long Alina copper-plate inscription of Siladitya VII. applies the epithets Paramabhāttāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, Parameśvara and Chakravartin to Dharasena IV. and the first three epithets to

¹ L. 8—“... स अथो-धात्रि-सवादिति मनु-भर-
तासाक्षसाम्बादकल्पे कल्पाणे वैष्णव भास्त्र-सदिरिव सुतरा
चाजते यत्र भद्रः ।”

² L. 6—“... प्राचो नृपान् सुचृचताय वज्रनुदीप्ताः
सामा युधा च वशमान् प्रविधाय येन नामापरं जगति
कान्तमदी दुराधे राजाधिराजपरमेन्द्रं इत्युद्दृश्यम् ।”

Śilādityadeva III., Śilādityadeva IV.,
 Śilādityadeva V., Śilādityadeva VI., and
 Śilādityadeva VII.

The Mandar Hill rock inscription of Adityasena applies to him the paramount titles Paramabhattāraka and Mahārājādhirāja.

The Deo-Baranark inscription of Jivita-Gupta II. uses the paramount titles Paramabhattāraka, Mahārājādhirāja and Paramesvara in respect of Devaguptadeva, Visnuguptadeva and Jivitaguptadeva II.

The Sonpat copper seal inscription of Harsavardhana applies the paramount titles Paramabhattāraka and Mahārājādhirāja to Prabhākaravardhana, Rajavardhana II., and Harsavardhana.

The copper-plate inscription of Samudragupta discovered at Gaya repeats the paramount title Mahārājādhirāja and the achievements of Samudragupta and his ancestors.

Some of the historical inscriptions in the cave-temples of Western India con-

part of India from the river Lauhitya or the Brahmaputra to the western ocean and from the Himalayas to the mountain Mahendra. He is described as falling but little short of Manu and Bharata, Alarka and Māndhātri, the great kings of old, in whom the title of "universal sovereign" shines most.¹

Another Mandasor stone inscription of Viṣṇuvardhana applies to him the titles of Rājādhirāja and Paramesvara, and refers to his subjection of many mighty kings of the east and north.²

The long Alina copper-plate inscription of Siladitya VII. applies the epithets Paramabhattāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, Paramēvara and Chakravartin to Dharasena IV. and the first three epithets to

¹ L. 8—“... स शेषो-धासि-सचाडिति मनु-भर-
तालक्ष्मीभावकर्त्ते कल्याणे देवि भास्त्र-मणिरिव सुतरा-
चाजते यत्र भृष्टः ।”

² L. 6—“... प्राची नृपात् सुवृहतात् वडनुदीचाः
सान्ना युधा च वस्त्रान् प्रविष्टाय येव नानापरं जगति
काननदी दुराप्य राजाधिराजापरमेवर रत्नुदृढ़दम् ।”

Śilādityadeva III., Śilādityadeva IV., Śilādityadeva V., Śilādityadeva VI., and Śilādityadeva VII.

The Mandar Hill rock inscription of Adityasena applies to him the paramount titles Paramabhattāraka and Mahārājā-dhirāja.

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The Sonpat copper seal inscription of Harsavardhana applies the paramount titles Paramabhattāraka and Mahārājā-dhirāja to Prabhākaravardhana, Rajyavardhana II., and Harsavardhana.

The copper-plate inscription of Samudragupta discovered at Gayā repeats the paramount title Mahārājādhirāja and the achievements of Samudragupta and his ancestors.

Some of the historical inscriptions in the cave-temples of Western India con-

tain references to titles of paramount sovereignty used by some successful kings. In the longest of the four inscriptions at Nasik of Gotamiputra¹ Śātakarni and Pulumāyi, Gotamiputra is spoken of as "king of kings," whose exploits rivalled those of Rāma, Kesava, Arjūna, Bhīma-sena: whose prowess was equal to that of Nābhāga, Nahūsa, Janamejaya, Sagara, Yayāti, Rāma and Ambarīṣa. The inscriptions of Pulakeśi II. (A.D. 611-634) show his assumption of the imperial title Parameśvara, lord paramount. Both Dantidurga, the Rāshtrakuta monarch who overthrew the Chalukyas, and his son Kriṣṇarāja is spoken of in their copper-plate grants as having become paramount sovereigns. Their successor, Govinda III., is also made out by his Baroda copper-plate grant to have been a paramount king making and unmaking subordinate kings.

Some of the Bengal Pāla kings also

¹ *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, No. 26.

used paramount titles of sovereignty as shown by their inscriptions. Thus a Nalanda inscription refers to Gopāla as Paramabhāttāraka Mahārājādhīraja Parameśvara. Another of Buddha Gaya speaks of "Paramabhāttāraka—Śrimān Mahipāla Deva." In a copper-plate inscription at Monghyr Gopāla is called "king of the world" and "likened unto Prīthu, Sagara and others."¹

XXXI

Thus early Hindu history unmistakably shows that the political consciousness of the people had from very early times grasped the whole of India as a unit, and assimilated the entire area as the theatre of its activities. But the tide of life that was pulsating through India from end to

¹ *Arch. Surv. Ind.*, Vol. III., pp. 114, 120, 122. There are many other Pāla and other inscriptions in which there is a reference to paramount sovereignty or mention of paramount titles. It is needless for our purposes to refer to them all.

end, unifying and integrating its parts and varieties into one mighty organism, came inevitably in course of time to overflow its original geographical limits and spread itself over other lands. Indeed, there can hardly be a more convincing proof of the reality and strength of Indian unity than the story of Indian colonising activity and the gradual development of a Greater India across the seas. This is not the proper place¹ and occasion for the unfolding of that interesting history in all its details which is still one of the unillumined chapters of Indian history, and I content myself with stating here only the general conclusions and facts that stand out clear and definite. India for centuries sent out streams of colonists and emigrants to countries in the Far East, including Pegu, Siam, and Cambodia on the mainland, and to Java, Sumatra, Bali and Borneo

¹ The writer has under preparation a work on *Greater India*. See chapters in his *History of Indian Shipping, etc.* (Longmans, London), apposite to the subject.

among the islands of the Malay Archipelago, and "the reality of the debt due to India by those distant lands is attested abundantly by material remains, by the existence to this day of both the Buddhist and Brahmanical religions in the island of Bali to the east of Java, by Chinese history and by numerous traditions preserved in India, Pegu, Siam and the Archipelago."¹ This colonising activity resulted in the practical Indianisation of the countries touched by it—the transplantation, and in some cases reproduction, of Indian art,² institutions and even

¹ V. A. Smith's *A History of Fine Art, etc.*, p. 259.

² In Java the forms of art are thoroughly Indian in subject and style (see V. A. Smith's *A History of Fine Art, etc.*, pp. 250 and ff.). Of the monument of Borobudur, presenting no less than 2,000 bas-reliefs, the best reliefs, numbering more than 200, are arranged in two series, of which the upper presents in easily recognisable stone pictures the life of Buddha as told in the ancient Sanskrit work *Lalita Vistara*, while the lower has been proved to be an illustration of scenes from the *Divyā-vadāna* and other Buddhist romances, including some of the *Jātakas*. As regards other monuments, the following remarks of Mr. Sewell may be quoted: "Brambānā and Chāndisewā are to all external

geographical names.¹ It is well known that some of the triumphs and master-pieces of India Art exist outside India in those countries which came within her

¹ According to Fergusson, the name Cambodia was given to a portion of Cochin-China by immigrants from Kambuja, i.e., from the Kabul valley. Among other geographical names introduced into Java and Cambodia may be mentioned Gandhara, Taxila, Hastinagara or Hastinapura, Rumadesa (apparently the South Punjab), Ayodhya (the capital of Siam), and Intha-patha-puri (Indraprastha), the latter capital of Cambodia.

appearances purely Brahmanical, though we learn on examination that Brahma, Vishnu and Siva were there held to be Bodhisattvas and not gods. And this is the case everywhere in Eastern Java, the temples being mostly Hindu in type (though always with a difference), and having statues adapted generally from Brahmanical originals."

The ruins at Angkor-Wat in Cambodia are also distinctively of ancient Indian origin.

Siamese annals date from A.D. 685, the colonisation from India of Burma, Pogu, Siam and Cambodia. In Cambodia, however, the earliest recorded Indian ruler was Srutavarman in the middle of the fifth century, followed by Bhavavarman, who founded many temples in honour of Indian deities, especially Siva, at which daily readings of the epics and *Puranas* were held. Indian influence was at its height in Cambodia in the sixth century [Kern quoted by V. A. Smith, *A History of Fine Art, etc.*, p. 261]. Traditions of the migrations from India to Indo-China date them from a much earlier

influence, while the ideas and institutions travelled with the spread of Buddhism,

period. The earliest is the mythic account of the conversion of Indo-China to Buddhism before the time of Asoka. Probably the eastward colonisation was originally begun by the Dravidians in the pre-Christian era and continued in subsequent periods. Next, a migration in the first century A.D. of Yavanas or Sakas from Tamaluk or Ratnāvati on the Hugli is in agreement with the large number of Indian place-names recorded by Ptolemy (A.D. 160) [see Hunter's *Orissa*, I. 810]. Of this migration Hiuen Tsang's name, Yavana (Yen-mo-na), for Cambodia, may be a trace [Beal's *Life of Hiuen Tsang*, xxxii]. A Saka invasion further explains Pausanias' (A.D. 170) name Sakaea for Cochin-China, and his description of the people as Skythians mixed with Indians. [Quoted in Bunbury's *Ancient Geography*, ii. 659. Bunbury suggests that Pausanias may have gained his information from Marcus Aurelius' (A.D. 166) ambassador to China.] There were fresh migrations during the fifth and sixth centuries, while among the deciphered Cambodian inscriptions there is evidence pointing to a Brahman dynasty, whose local initial date is in the early years of the seventh century, and one of whose kings, Samasaram (A.D. 610), is recorded to have held daily Mahabharata readings in the temples [Barth in *Jour. Asiatique*, ser. vi, tom. xix, p. 160, and *ibid.* x, 57, quoted in *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. i, part i].

From Java the Hindus colonised Banjor Massin in Borneo, which was probably the most eastern of Hindu settlements [*J. R. A. S.* iv, 185]. Temples of superior workmanship with Hindu figures also occur at Waahoo, 400 miles from the coast [Dalton's *Diaks of Borneo*, *Jour. Asiatique* (N.S.), vii, 163].

which in its *Mahāyanist* form and development was accepted by Tibet, Nepal and China with the neighbouring countries, as also parts of Farther India and Java, and in its *Hinayāna* form gained, besides the countries of Farther India and Ceylon, Burma, Siam and Cambodia. This propagation of Indian thought and institutions was undoubtedly the work of countless colonists and missionaries, carried on through centuries, whose zeal must have been fed by a rich and stable national self-consciousness developed on a common soil and country. The colonising movement was (and always is) but the crest of a wave of popular enthusiasm for the country created and sustained by the realisation of its individuality and sacredness, a profound appreciation of all that it stands for, its ideals and institutions.

XXXII

We have now seen how in the past both religion and political experience contributed to the growth of a geographical sense in the people and to the perception of the fundamental unity of India behind her continental vastness and variety. The whole of the country was thus easily and naturally grasped by the national thought as a geographical unit whose strength and fervour triumphed over the physical difficulties of pre-mechanical ages in the way of having an intimate knowledge of the different parts which were welded into a whole. It was in a real sense the conquest of matter by mind ; the subjection of the physical to the spiritual. India as a whole was realised as the mighty motherland by the popular mind in every part of India in spite of an unfavouring natural environment.

In modern times, the age of the improvement of transport, when the whole world has, so to say, been made smaller in size and is being centralised by railways, telegraphs and electrical machinery, when the ocean itself has been converted from a barrier into a broad highway of international intercourse, we can more easily and naturally realise the geographical unity of the whole of India. And besides, is not this unity apparent on the map? That country is geographically one of which the barriers separating its parts are less obstructive than those which isolate the area as a whole from surrounding regions. It is quite evident, and he who runs may read it, that India pre-eminently satisfies this test of unity. The great barrier of the north formed by the Himalayas, which may be easily rendered impregnable, effectually isolates the country from the rest of Asia, giving protection to it along a frontier of 2,000 miles, while towards the south the advan-

tages of an insular position are secured by the sea. Thus sea-girt and mountain-guarded India is indisputably a geographical unit.

As regards any insurmountable internal barriers, we hardly come across one. The Himalayas overlook the great plain, the Indo-Gangetic depression which covers an area larger than France, Germany and Austria put together, and supports more than one-half of the total population of India. This is the region of which Sir Richard Strachey has said: "It is no exaggeration to say that it is possible to go from the Bay of Bengal up the Ganges through the Panjab and down the Indus again to the sea over a distance of 2,000 miles and more without finding a pebble, however small." The whole region is of one uniform level, one continuous stretch of land uninterrupted by any barrier, covered with a network of rivers, railways and canals, where one sees only "unbroken continents of wheat, millet and

Indian corn, endless seas of rice and limitless prairies of sugar-cane and indigo," an evidence of agricultural wealth oppressive almost in its monotony. Nor is the *Vindhya* or *Satpura* range any serious barrier obstructing communication between northern and southern India. Scarcely rising more than 4,000 feet above sea-level, both the ranges are now pierced by road and railway, and did not even in the earlier ages seriously interfere with the spread of Indo-Aryan civilisation, the diffusion of Hindu culture and learning to the parts of India lying to their south which are, equally with the north, the great stronghold of Hinduism.

Lastly, among other natural features which distinguish India from other countries may be mentioned the seasonal winds or monsoons which have stamped on the whole country a unique aspect. They have created those hydrographical conditions which have made of India pre-eminently the land of agriculture and

one of the best-watered regions of the world. The census reports show that about 73 per cent. of the total population of India is dependent on agriculture for livelihood. While it may also be ascertained from statistics that, out of a total of 226 million acres annually sown in British India, only 44 million acres lack the natural water-supply and have to be artificially irrigated by the contrivances of man. So that fully 80 per cent. of the total area sown is naturally irrigated by the rivers of India pouring down in their bounty the streams of plenty. There also stands out, as the result of the operation of physical causes, the broad fundamental and distinguishing fact that Indian civilisation has developed and rests mainly on a rice-basis and the national diet is practically vegetarian.

XXXIII

Thus has India been helped both by nature and nurture, by her geographical conditions and historic experience, by her religious ideas and political ideals, to realise herself as a unit, to perceive, preserve and promote her individuality in fulfilment of her heaven-appointed mission in the culture-history of the world. Indian thought occupies a distinct place in the evolution of human thought; Indian life has its distinctive part to play in the history of humanity.

✓ Human culture would be incomplete and poor without its Indian contribution. The world is in need of India, a living, rejuvenated India—of the strength of her message, her cult, her faith. For what does India represent? “Not Universal Empire of the type attempted by the Eternal City, not Universal Spiritual Dominion like the Mother of all the

Churches." India's gift to the world has been the fair fabric of an Empire,¹ a Nationality, founded on the basis of Universal Peace (*Ahīnsā*, अहिंसा), peace between man and man, and between man and every sentient creature ; a fabric that was alas ! ruthlessly shattered by the shock and collision of historic forces. For the Prime Maker of all history has perhaps ordained that the world should pass through the process of a painful historic development from the brute to the man.

✓ Standing alone now in the background of historic nationalities and teeming millions, India calls us to the Cult of the Spirit, calls the mighty nations of the earth to lay down their pride and hate, their sceptres and swords, and, with redemptive humility, love and sacrifice, to fight in union the forces of rebarbarisation

¹ E.g., the famous edicts of Asoka fully set forth the principles of *Ahīnsā* and wide catholicity on which his great Empire was governed.

that are fast turning whole continents into armed hostile camps. It is in that Indian Cult of the Spirit that Nations, like Individuals, will find their rest and peace and realise the democratic dreams of a World Federation or a Parliament of Man.¹

¹ This section is adapted from Dr. Brajendranath Seal's address to the First Universal Races Congress, London.

FINIS